ASPECTS OF ANCIENT INDIAN NUMISMATICS



PRASHANT SRIVASTAVA

This is the first comprehensive study of the joint, commemorative, and victory coins of ancient India, which form a more important source of history than the normal issues. The Introduction discusses the nature and scope of the work. The book is divided into three sections dealing with the Joint Issues, Commemorative Medallions, and Victory Medals. The first five chapters, forming Section I, deal with the joint issues of the Indo-Greeks; Scytho-Parthians; Kuṣāṇas, Gaḍaharas, Ṣākas, and Ṣilādas; of the pre-Gupta period; and finally, of the Imperial Guptas, respectively. Section II is divided into four chapters dealing with the commemorative medallions of the Indo-Greeks; Kuṣāṇas; pre-Gupta period; and of the Imperial Guptas, respectively. An appendix to Chapter VI discusses the 'Helios on Quadriga Type of Coin of Plato'. Chapter X comprising Section III, is concerned with the Victory Medals of ancient India, the '*Jitaṁ Bhagavatā Padmanābhena Coins*' being discussed in an appendix to this chapter. The various coin-types have been studied for their politico-cultural importance, and corroborative evidence in the form of literature, inscriptions, icons, and sculptures, *etc.* has freely been made use of. A detailed bibliography, an exhaustive index, and sixteen plates of photographic illustrations add to the merit of the work.

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Dr Prashant Srivastava (b. 1964) obtained his B.A. Honours degree in Ancient Indian History and Archaeology from the University of Lucknow in 1985 with a first class first and won a gold medal. In 1986, he obtained his master's degree in Ancient Indian History and Archaeology from the University of Lucknow with a first class first and won two gold medals. The same year, the University Grants Commission awarded him a Research Fellowship, and he conducted his research, on which the present work is mainly based, under the supervision of Professor K K Thaplyal, Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, University of Lucknow.

In 1991, he was appointed Lecturer in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, University of Lucknow, and has since been teaching under-graduate and post-graduate classes.

Dr Prashant Srivastava has published a monograph - *Joint Coin types of Ancient India* - in the Numismatic Notes and Monographs Series of the Numismatic Society of India (1990), and contributed about one dozen papers in reputed research journals. He has also published over two dozen articles on History in newspapers and periodicals.

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Dedicated

To

Professor D R Bhandarkar,

Professor C D Chatterjee

&

Professor A S Altekar

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FOREWORD

Dr. Prashant Srivastava chose the arduous job of writing a disseration on coins, knowing fully well that it involves great deal of painstaking work causing much strain to the eyes - a consideration which, according to the *Vinayapiṭaka*, had made the parents of Upāli rule out the career of coin-examiner for him. And in coins, he did not take up for his study those produced by a single technique, like the punch-marked coins, or those belonging to a single dynasty, Kuṣāṇa, Gupta and the like, or to different dynasties of the same ethnic stock, such as Indo-Greeks, or to the tribal republics, as has been the common practice. Instead, he chose to work on coins belonging to three relatively rare categoires - joint, commemorative and victory, ranging from the time of Alexander to that of the Guptas. He has pursued his work with rare dedication, and despite the opinion of some numismatists that there would not be enough material to build up a Ph.D. dissertation on the joint, commemorative and victory types alone, he was firmly convinced of the suitability of his topic and by his painstaking study has succeeded in producing a work which earned him the degree of Doctor of Philosophy and also high appreciation from its learned examiners - Professor V.S. Pathak and Professor Lallanji Gopal.

Dr. Prashant Srivastava has made a meticulous and detailed study of the joint, commemorative and victory types of coins. He has thoroughly discussed their bearing on various aspects of history, such as establishing chronological sequence of kings and dynasties, or determining the circumstances leading to joint rule, or tracing stages in the career of a ruler (e.g. in the case of Strato - his ruling under his mother's regency, ruling jointly with her, and his independent rule), determining the motives of the kings for

showing their relationship, real or assumed, with former eminent kings. His approach to the subject is marked by a critical examination and appraisal of the available data and his conclusions are logical and well founded. He has carefully discussed the views of earlier scholars on various issues and given convincing reasons for accepting or rejecting them. He has something new to offer, be it in the classification of coins or in the interpretation of their evidence.

This work of Dr. Prashant Srivastava is a significant contribution in the field of numismatics, and I am sure, both scholars and students will find it a valuable and welcome publication.

KIRAN KUMAR THAPLYAL

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Words are inadequate to express my gratitude to my *Guru*, Dr. K.K. Thaplyal, Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, University of Lucknow, Lucknow, for supervising the progress of my doctoral disseration, for his advice and criticism, which have been invaluable in the preparation of the present work. He also very kindly favoured with a Foreword to this work. For their appreciation of my work and favourable comments, I wish to record my thanks to my learned examiners, Professor V.S.Pathak and Professor Lallanji Gopal. For their encouragement and inspiration, I shall be forever beholden to Professor B.N. Puri, Professor B.N.Srivastava (who also provided me with same valuable advice for the preparation of the plates), Professor S.N.Chaturvedi, Professor K.K. Dasgupta, Professor B.N.Mukherjee, Dr. M.P.Joshi, and Dr. S.D.Trivedi.

For providing facilities of study, I am thankful to the staff of the libraries of the Lucknow University, Lucknow; State Museum, Lucknow; State Archaeological Organisation, Uttar Pradesh, Lucknow; Office of the Superintending Archaeologist, Lucknow Circle, Lucknow; The Numismatic Society of India, Varanasi. Dr. S.N.Kapur, Reader, Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, University of Lucknow, Lucknow, kindly permitted me the use of the Departmental Library.

The illustrations have mostly been taken from standard works like *Catalogue of the Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India*, by P. Gardner; *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, and *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties, and of Śaśāṅka, King of Gauḍa*, by John Allan; *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kṣatrapas, the Traikūṭaka*

Dynasty, and the "Bodhi" Dynasty, by E.J.Rapson; *Catalogue of the Indo-Greek Coins in the Punjab Museum*, Lahore, by R.B.Whithead; *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India, in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, by V.A. Smith; *Corpus of Indian Coins*, Vol. IV, by A.S.Altekar; *Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins*, by A.N.Lahiri.

My parents, Sri Priyonath Srivastava and Smt. Pushplata Srivastava, have been a constant source of inspiration to me.

Thanks also to my wife for her co-operation during the publication stage.

Thanks are also due to Sri Ajit David of the United Arts, Lucknow, for preparing the plates; to Sri D.P.Gupta of the University of Lucknow, Lucknow, for preparing the typescript carefully. I wish to thank Dr. Agam Prasad and Sri Rahul Singhal of the Agam Kala Prakashan, Delhi, and the staff for the presentable and timely execution of this work. Some of the views put forth in these pages have been published by me in various journals, bulletins, etc., detailed in the Select Bibliography. Thanks are also due to the University Grants Commission, New Delhi, for the award of a Research Fellowship.

Lucknow **Prashant Srivastava**

5th May, 1995

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABORI	-	*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.*
Agrippan Source	-	*An Agrippan Source - A Study in Indo-Parthian History,* by B.N. Mukherjee.
AIU	-	*The Age of Imperial Unity,* ed. by R.C. Majumdar and A.D. Pusalker.
ASIAR	-	*Archaeological Survey of India - Annual Report.*
B,AIN	-	*Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics,* by D.R. Bhandarkar.
B,CII	-	*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum,* Vol.III, Revised by D.R. Bhandarkar and ed. by B.Ch. Chhabra and G.S. Gai.
BMAUP	-	*Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U.P.*
BMC,AI	-	*Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India, in the British Museum,* by J. Allan.
BMC,AWK	-	*Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kṣatrapas, the Traikūṭaka Dynasty, and the "Bodhi" Dynasty, in the British Museum,* by E.J. Rapson.
BMC,GD	-	*Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties, and of Śaśāṅka, King of Gauḍa,*

		in the British Museum, by J.Allan.
BMC,GSKBI	-	*Catalogue of the Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India, in the British Museum*, by P. Gardner.
CA	-	*The Classical Age*, ed. by R.C. Majumdar and A.D. Pusalkar.
CAI	-	*Coins of Ancient India*, by A.Cunningham.
CASE	-	*Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East*, by A. Cunningham.
CCK	-	*Coins of the Kushans*, by A. Cunningham.
CCS	-	*Coins of the Sakas*, by A.Cunningham.
CGE	-	*Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, by A.S. Altekar.
CHI	-	*Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, ed. by E.J. Rapson.
CIGC	-	*Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins*, by A.N. Lahiri.
CII	-	*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.*
CMI	-	*Coins of Mediaeval India*, by A. Cunningham.
Coins and Icons	-	*Coins and Icons, A Study of Myths and Symbols in Indian Numismatic Art*, by Bhaskar Chattopadhyay.
Comp. Hist. Ind.	-	*Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, ed. by K.A.N. Sastri.
DHI	-	*Development of Hindu Iconography*, by J.N. Banerjea.

ECNI,IS - *Early Coins of North India - An Iconographic Study*, by S.S. Singh.

EHI - *Early History of India*, by V. A. Smith.

EI - *Epigraphia Indica.*

Essays - *Essays on Indian Antiquities, Historic, Numismatic, and Palaeographic, of James Prinsep*, ed. by Edward Thomas.

GBI - *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, by W.W. Tarn.

GGCBH - *Catalogue of the Gupta Gold Coins in the Bayana Hoard*, by A.S. Altekar.

Gr. - *Greek.*

IA - *Indian Antiquary.*

IG - *The Indo-Greeks*, by A.K. Narain.

IHQ - *Indian Historical Quarterly.*

IMC - *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India, in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol. I, by V.A. Smith.

JAOS - *Journal of the American Oriental Society.*

JASB - *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*

JBBRAS - *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

JBORS - *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.*

JIH - *Journal of Indian History.*

JNSI - *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.*

JRAS - *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of*

		Great Britain and Ireland.
JUPHS	-	*Journal of the U.P. Historical Society.*
Kh.	-	Kharoṣṭhī.
l.	-	left.
MNSI	-	*Memoirs of the Numismatic Society of India.*
NC	-	*Numismatic C[illegible]icle.*
NNM	-	*Numismatic Notes and Monographs.*
NS	-	*Numismatic Supplement*
NSI	-	The Numismatic Society of India.
PHAI	-	*Political History of Ancient India,* by H.C. Raychaudhuri.
PMC	-	*Catalogue of the Indo-Greek Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore,* Vol. I, by R.B. Whitehead.
r.	-	Right.
SAIN	-	*A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics,* by S.K. Chakrabortty.
Satavahanon, etc.	-	*Sātavāhanon aura Paśchimī Kṣatrapon Kā Itihāsa aura Abhilekha,* by V.V. Mirashi.
SI	-	*Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization,* 2 Vols., by D.C. Sircar.
THAI	-	*A Tribal History of Ancient India - A Numismatic Approach,* by K.K. Dasgupta.
VGA	-	*The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age,* ed. by R.C. Majumdar and A.S. Altekar.

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INTRODUCTION

Coins provide useful corroborative evidence to literary and epigraphic sources and for certain ages and dynasties, they are almost the only source of information[1]. But for coins we would have known hardly anything about the Indo-Greek and Scytho-Parthian rulers. They help in solving some of the most puzzling problems of history. There are also some coin-types which themselves present baffling problems that obstinately defy solution, and are the basis of much conjecture and scholarly debate.

There are scattered, though fairly rich, notices of the joint, commemorative, and victory coins of ancient India in earlier works[2] like *Ariana Antiqua* of H.H. Wilson; *Catalogue of the Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India, in the British Museum,* by P. Gardner; *Coins of Ancient India, Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East, Coins of the Indo-Scythians, Sakas, and Kushans,* and *Later Indo-Scythians* by A. Cunningham; *Indian Coins,* and *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kṣatrapas, the Traikūṭaka Dynasty, and the "Bodhi" Dynasty, in the British Museum,* by E.J. Rapson; *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India, in the British Museum,* and *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties, and of Śaśāṅka, King of Gauḍa, in the British Museum,* by J. Allan; *Catalogue of the Coins in the Punjab Museum,* Vol. I, of R.B. Whitehead; *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India in the Indian Museum,* Vol. I, by V.A. Smith; W.W. Tarn's *The Greeks in Bactria and India; Taxila* of J.

Marshall; S.K. Chakrabortty's *A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics;* A.S. Altekar's twin works on Imperial Gupta Numismatics, *viz, Catalogue of the Gupta Gold Coins in the Bayana Hoard,* and *Coinage of the Gupta Empire; The Indo-Greeks* of A.K. Narain; A.N. Lahiri's *Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins; An Agrippan Source - A Study in Indo-Parthian History* by B.N.Mukherjee; *A Tribal History of Ancient India - A Numismatic Approach* of K.K. Dasgupta. The various issues of the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India,* are important source for notices and accounts of coins. However, the joint, commemorative, and victory coins, which, in our view, are more important as sources of ancient Indian history, than the regular issues, have been noticed in these works in passing, and no independent and comprehensive study of these particular coins has been undertaken so far. Hence, the present study.

The study begins with the "Poros" medals, which are believed by certain scholars to have been issued by Alexander after defeating the Indian king (*circa* 324 B.C.), and ends with the downfall of the Imperial Gupta dynasty which marks the close of a glorious phase of ancient Indian history.

The work is largely a result of a study of the works of the *pūrvasūrīs*. However, it will be seen that on several occasions, we have disagreed with their points of view, and have attempted altogether new interpretations. In certain cases, we have also attempted a new classification of coin-types (e.g., the coins of the Yaudheyas, and the Lion-slayer type of coins of Chandragupta II). The present study is not a catalogue of the joint, commemorative, and victory coins of ancient India. In cases of a type being represented by sub-varieties, we have described the coin-type, and then indicated its different varieties.

We have tried to utilize the evidence of the joint, commemorative, and victory coins for a reconstruction of the political and cultural history of ancient India. But such a study has its limitations. Regarding the evidence of seals, it has been observed, "Reconstruction of history from their evidence is like collecting and assembling scattered and fragmentary pieces of bones into a skeleton. To invest them with flesh and blood and make them living and lively, even with the help of literature and epigraphs, though easy for a novelist, is an extremely arduous task for a student of history, who has to abstain from fiction."[3] The same is true for the evidence of coins. In the utilization and interpretation of numismatic evidence, we have tried to follow Narain's approach. "Numismatics," he writes, "is one of those unwritten sources which gives scope to the historian to wander off into a land of romance, *if* he is not disciplined in undertaking the limitations of the source he is using. ... For certain periods, the historian has to be a numismatist; he must treat history as a science and not as literature. Method is more important than 'background', and accuracy is more important than flourish."

While dealing with the joint, commemorative, and victory coins of ancient India, we have described the coin-type in detail and then discussed its importance from the point of view of political and cultural history. Corroborative evidence in the form of literature, inscriptions, icons and sculptures, *etcetera* has freely been made use of. The various aspects of the coin-types have been discussed critically. There are possibilities and probabilities in ancient Indian history, but very few certainties. In cases of controversies, the views of the various scholars have been discussed in detail to present a complete picture of the issue, and new interpretations have been put forth, wherever possible. For instance, an attempt has been made to understand the significance of the

epithet ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΣ occurring on the coins of Agathokleia and of Machenes, in the context of the then existing political conditions[4]. A new possible explanation of the Lysias - Antialkidas coin has been offered.[5] The significance of the legend *Lichchhavayaḥ,* occurring on the reverse of the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī coin-type has also been explained in a new context.[6] The chronology of the Imperial Guptas from the time of the end of Samudragupta's reign to the accession of Chandragupta II, too, has been given differently.[7]

A few words regarding the determination of the obverse and reverse sides of the coins. In cases of the Indo-Greek and Scytho-Parthian issues, the side bearing the bust or figure of the king and his name is generally regarded as the obverse, and the other side, usually bearing the figure or symbol of some deity, the reverse. In bilingual coins, the side with the Greek legend is regarded as the obverse side, for Greek was the official language, of the Indo-Greeks certainly, and of the Scytho-Parthians most probably.[8] In case of the Kuṣāṇa coins, the side bearing the figure and name of the king is taken as the obverse, and the side bearing the figure and the name of some deity is taken as the reverse. In the Imperial Gupta coinage, the side with the circular legend, usually bearing the royal figure, is regarded as the obverse side of the coin. The problem of determination of the obverse and the reverse side is the most difficult in case of the indigenous coins of the pre-Gupta period and in certain cases, we have been unable to accept the determination of sides proposed by earlier scholars.

The study is divided into three sections - Joint Issues, Commemorative Medallions, and Victory Medals - and comprises ten chapters. In Chapter I, dealing with the joint issues of the Indo-Greek sovereigns, we have taken up the coin-types issued by

Agathokleia in association with Strato I, by Strato I in association with Strato II, by Hermaios with Kalliope, and by Lysias with (?) Antialkidas.

Agathokleia and Strato I, whom in these pages we have taken as mother and son,[9] issued six (possibly seven) types conjointly. We have attributed the anepigraphous staters bearing a horned owl on the reverse to Agathokleia,[10] and not to Menander. The sudden death of Menander in camp forced Agathokleia to take up the work of administration of the realm as queen-regent on behalf of her son, Strato I. To silence the protests of the subjects against the rule of a woman, she assumed the title of ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΣ.[11] But her move does not appear to have been very successful, and her coin-types mirror her gradually diminishing powers.[12]

There are three types of coins struck by two kings bearing the name of Strato.[13] Earlier scholars believed these two Stratos to be Strato I Soter, the son of Agathokleia, and Strato II Philopator, the grandson of the elder Strato.[14] In contradistinction to this, some scholars have expressed the possibility of the existence of three kings bearing the name of Strato, and regard these joint issues as struck by Strato II and Strato III.[15] But we find the first view more acceptable.[16] Strato II Philopator appears to have predeceased his grandfather.[17]

The reverse device "king on prancing horse" of the type bearing the jugate busts and names of Hermaios and Kalliope on the obverse is very significant in that apart from connecting Kalliope with the family of Antimachos,[18] it shows that the marriage of Hermaios with Kalliope was of great political importance, leading to the amalgamation of the kingdoms of

Hermaios and Kalliope.[19]

A coin-type bearing the name of Lysias of the family of Euthydemos[20] on the obverse, and that of Antialkidas of the family of Eukratides[21] on the reverse, was earlier believed to be a joint issue.[22] Narain regards it as a 'mule'.[23] But it is equally possible that it is a joint issue, either struck in the initial years of the reign of Antialkidas when he was not yet so powerful, or that the Antialkidas of these Lysias-Antialkidas coins was some ruler other than the powerful Antialkidas who restruck the coins of Lysias.[23a]

Chapter II deals with the joint issues of the Scytho-Parthian[24] rulers. The earliest Scytho-Parthian ruler appears to be Vonones. No independent coin of Vonones is known so far, but his name occupies the obverse - the place of honour-on the coins struck in association with his viceroys, Spalahora[25] and Spalagadama.[26] Vonones appears to have been deposed by his brother, Spalirises,[27] who had earlier struck satrapal coins as "brother of the king", and satrapal joint coins with his son, Azes I.[28] Spalirises ruled in Arachosia as supreme sovereign, but this son, Azes I, is known to have ruled in India, where he is believed to have succeeded Maues,[29] apparently after subjugating him.[30]

Azes I, probably towards the close of his reign, associated in government his son, Azilises, as a co-ruler, and Azilises did the same by associating his own son, Azes II, in government as a co-ruler, most probably towards the end of his reign.[31] Azes II issued joint coins with Indravarman,[32] and the latter's son, Aśpavarman, who served under Azes II as his *strategos*.[33]

Meanwhile Orthanges, who appears to have been a successor of the person who overthrew Spalirises in Arachosia, was ruling over that region through his viceroy, Gondophernes,

and the latter's assistant, Guḍa.[34] Gondophernes dispossessed Azes II of his kingdom, for Azes' *strategos* Aśpavarman is known to have served under Gondophernes as well.[35] On establishing himself as an independent ruler in India, Gondophernes severed his relations with Arachosia, whereupon Orthagnes conferred the viceroyalty of Arachosia upon Guḍa.[36] But after some time, Gondophernes established his sway over Arachosia[37]. It is not known for certain who succeeded Gondophernes. Three kings, viz., Abdagases, Pakores, and Sasan, are known to have succeeded him, but the order of their succession is now known.. It is quite possible that they ruled simultaneously over different parts of the former empire of Gondophernes. The joint issues of Hagāna and Hagāmaṣa, the Śaka Kṣatrapas of Mathurā, too, are dealt with in this chapter.[38]

Joint issues of the Kuṣāṇas, Gaḍaharas, Ṣākas, and Ṣilādas are dealt with in Chapter III. On the basis of the Hermaios - Kujula Kadphises coins, some scholars suggested that the Indo-Greek ruler associated in government the Kuṣāṇa chief, who later overthrew Hermaios.[39] But F.W. Thomas pointed out that there was a considerable gap between Hermaios and Kujula Kadphises, and this theory is substantiated by the strategraphic evidence of coins in the Takṣaśilā excavations conducted by Marshall,[40] and as such, the Hermaios - Kujula Kadphises coins cannot be treated as joint issues. The coins of Kaniṣka III and Vāsudeva II bear in the left, central, and right fields on the obverse some Brāhmī letters. The letters in the right field are regarded by Cunningham as the initials of the names of provincial governors,[41] thus making them joint issues. We have tried to show that the left and central fields, too, were occupied by the initials of the names of two different officials.[42]

The appearance of the word *Kirada* on some Gaḍahara coins is taken by some scholars to refer to the sovereignty of the Kidāra Kuṣāṇas over the Gaḍaharas, and the appearance of the name Samudra (Gupta ?) on some other Gaḍahara coins is believed to indicate the transfer of the allegiance of the Gaḍaharas from the Kidāra-Kuṣāṇas to the Imperial Guptas when the power of the Kidāra-Kuṣāṇas was eclipsed by the rise of Sassanian imperialism.[43] The presence of the symbol of Vāsudeva I on certain Ṣāka and Ṣilāda coins is regarded as an indication of his nominal suzerainty over these tribes.[44]

Indigenous joint issues of the pre-Gupta period are discussed in a chronological order in Chapter IV. A Pañchāla type bearing the name of Vaṅgapāla on the obverse and of Damagupta on the reverse was earlier taken as counterstruck piece.[45] K.M. Shrimali, however, regards them as joint issues, but he regards Damagupta as the senior ruler of the two.[46] But we have tried to show that Vaṅgapāla was the senior of the two rulers, as his name occupies the obverse.[47] The Sātavāhana coin bearing the names of Śātakarṇi I and his queen, Nāganikā, and the figure of a horse appears to be both a joint issue testifying to the influence of Nāganikā in the Sātavāhana administration,[48] and a commemorative piece celebrating the performance of the *Aśvamedha yajña* by the Sātavāhana ruler.[49] The Ayodhya coin bearing the names of Devamitra and Āyumitra might be a joint issue or an overstruck coin. The determination of its real nature is of great importance for the chronology of these two kings of Ayodhya.[50]

Chapter V deals with the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type, the only joint issue of the Imperial Guptas. This type is very controversial, and as there has been a lot of discussion regarding its attribution and nature, we have discussed this type in greater

detail. The type has been attributed variously to Chandragupta I and the Lichchhavis jointly,[51] to Chandragupta I and Kumāradevī jointly,[52] to Samudragupta who is believed to have issued this type to commemorate his parents,[53] and to the Lichchhavis who are believed to have struck this type to commemorate the marriage of Chandragupta I and Kumāradevī.[54] We find the theory of Altekar the most appropriate, and feel that *Lichchhavayaḥ*, the reverse legend of this type, is indicative of the people Kumāradevī represented in the amalgamated states of the Guptas and the Lichchhavis.[55] The goddess on the reverse has been identified variously as Durgā, Lakṣmī, and Sarvamaṅgalā. But we find her identification with *Siṁhavāhinī* Lakṣmī as more apt.[56]

Commemorative medallions of the Indo-Greeks are discussed in Chapter VI. A coin-type bearing the legend ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ on the reverse was earlier regarded as the normal coinage of Diodotos, but Macdonald has correctly shown that it is a medal, struck most probably by Demetrios, to commemorate Diodotos.[57] Agathokles is known to have commemorated on his coins Alexander, Antiochos (II[58]), Diodotos, Euthydemos, Demetrios, and Pantaleon; Antimachos commemorated on his coins Diodotos and Euthydemos; Eukratides commemorated his parents,[59] Heliokles and Laodike on two of his coin-types.Scholars like Tarn are of the view that the purpose behind the issue of these commemorative pieces by these princes was to win over the support of the native Greeks by proclaiming their Seleukid origin.[60] Justin states that Eukratides was assassinated by a son. who "drove his chariot through his blood". According to Narain, this parricide son of Eukratides might have been Plato, and his 'Helios on quadriga' type coins might have some connection with this statement of Justin.[61] and this we have

discussed in an appendix to Chapter VI.

Chapter VII deals with the Hermaios - Kujula Kadphises type of coins, the commemorative medallions of the Kuṣāṇas. We have already mentioned that they could not possibly have been joint issues keeping in view the time gap between the two rulers. Some scholars regard these coins as "mechanical copies" of the popular Hermaios type by Kujula Kadphises.[62] But we find this difficult to accept.[63] The earlier theory of Tarn that these coins were struck by Kujula Kadphises to commemorate Hermaios in order to consolidate his own position in the Kabul Valley seems to be the most acce ble.[64]

There are certain Kuṇinda coins bearing the figure of Śiva and the legend *Bhagavata Chatreśvara Mahātmanaḥ*, and certain Yaudheya coins bearing the name and/or figure of Kārttikeya. J.N. Banerjea has suggested that the Kuṇindas had a sort of theocracy in which the state was dedicated to Śiva and coins were issued in his name.[65] Likewise, the Yaudheyas had dedicated their state to their patron deity, Kārttikeya, and issued coins in his name.[66] But it is argued that on these coins, neither Śiva nor Kārttikeya is given any royal title, which seems to render Banerjea's suggestion difficult to accept.[67] In contradistinction to this theory, one scholar has suggested that the Kuṇindas struck the *Chatreśvara* coins to commemorate their independence of the Kuṣāṇa rule,[68] and the Yaudheyas struck the *Kārttikeya* coins to commemorate their independence of the Kārddamaka Śaka Kṣatrapa rule.[69] In Chapter VIII, which deals with these indigenous commemorative medallions of the pre-Gupta period, we have also suggested a new classification of the Yaudheya coins mentioning *Kārttikeya*,[70] and discussed briefly the various symbols occurring on these Kuṇinda and Yaudheya coins[71].

Chapter IX deals with the commemorative medallions of the Imperial Guptas. Samudragupta struck the Aśvamedha type of coins, the only contemporary evidence of the performance of the *Aśvamedha* by him, and the Lyrist type coins, which appear to be connected with the Aśvamedha type by the presence of the Brāhmī letter *Si*[72] occurring on both these types. The Lyrist type, too appears to have been struck on the occasion of the *Aśvamedha*.[73] R.D. Banerji is of the view that the Kācha type of coins were struck by Samudragupta to commemorate his elder brother, Kācha, who had lost his life in the struggle with the Kuṣāṇas during the life-time of Chandragupta I.[74] There are, however, grounds to believe that these coins were struck by Kācha himself, and are not commemorative medallions.[75] Earlier scholars regarded Kācha as identical with Samudragupta.[76] But this view is no longer acceptable to a vast majority of scholars.[77] Kācha is believed to be a brother of Samudragupta, who occupied the Gupta throne at Pāṭaliputra. During his rule, Rāmagupta, the elder son of Samudragupta and the provincial governor of Eran, declared himself king at Eran. After some time, Kācha was dethroned by Chandragupta II. We feel that this reconstruction can explain the rule of Kācha and the sovereign status of Rāmagupta between Samudragupta and Chandragupta II.[78]

Kumāragupta I, too, issued the Aśvamedha type and the Lyrist type of coins, his Aśvamedha type being the only available source of our information of the performance of the *Aśvamedha* by him apart from the stone horse from Khairigarh believed to be a replica of his sacrificial horse. The obverse composition of the Apratigha type of Kumāragupta I has not yet been satisfactorily explained. We have elsewhere[79] shown the difficulties in accepting Altekar's suggestion. We feel that it is likely that Kumāragupta I is here commemorating the renunciation of the world by his

yuvarāja and that the obverse composition consists of the *yuvarāja* flanked by his parents who are trying to dissuade him from renouncing the world, but in vain.[80]

Chapter X deals with the victory medals. The two types of decadrachms showing a horseman pursuing an elephant bearing two riders are regarded by Gardner as recording some victory of a Graeco-Bactrian king over some Yueh-chih invader.[81] But B.V. Head is of the view that these types show Alexander pursuing Poros, and hence, commemorate the Battle of Jhelum.[82] Eukratides struck a twenty-stater piece to commemorate his victory over the Euthydemids,[82a] while Amyntas marked his victory over the Śaka ruler Maues,[83] or the successor(s) and sub-king(s) of Apollodotos,[84] by the issue of two types of double-decadrachms.

Some Indo-Greek and Scytho-Parthian coins showing naval symbolism are taken by some scholars to refer to naval victories.[85] Antimachos Theos issued a Poseidon type to commemorate his naval victory, possibly over the Śakas.[86] The Poseidon type of Nikias and the Triton type of Hippostratos are taken by Tarn to refer to one and the same victory achieved by the Indo-Greeks over the Śaka ruler Maues.[87] He regards Nikias as the son of Hippostratos.[88] But Greek mythology seems to support Narain's view that Nikias was a predecessor of Hippostratos.[89] Nikias depicted Poseidon on his coins, and Nikias' son, Hippostratos, depicted Poseidon's son, Triton, on his coins. The Poseidon types of Maues and Azes I are taken to refer to the naval victories of the Śakas over the Indo-Greek fleets. Marshall, however, says that Maues is here commemorating the same battle as that commemorated on the Poseidon type of Nikias and the Triton type of Hippostratos.[90]

According to R.K. Mookerji, the Tiger-slayer type of

Samudragupta commemorates his conquest of the Gaṅgā Valley,[91] while the Lion-slayer type of Chandragupta II commemorates his conquest of Kathiawar.[92] M.M. Nagar is of the view that the Rhinoceros-slayer type of Kumāragupta I commemorates his conquest of Kāmarūpa.[93]But while we have epigraphic corroboration of the conquest of the Gaṅgā Valley by Samudragupta, and the conquest of Kathiawar by Chandragupta II, we have no corroborative evidence of the conquest of Kāmarūpa by Kumāragupta I.[94]

Thus, in ten chapters under three sections, we have discussed the Joint Issues (Chapters I to V), Commemorative Medallions (Chapters VI to IX), and Victory Medals (Chapter X).

References

1. Ancient India did not produce"a Herodotus or (Thucydides a Livy or Tacitus"). (*Sircar, Studies in Indian Coins*, p. 1.)
2. A detailed bibliography is given at the end of this work.
3. Dr. K.K. Thaplyal, *Studies in Ancient Indian Seals*, Preface.
4. See *infra*, chapter I.
5. See *infra*, chapter I.
6. See *infra*, chapter V.
7. See *infra*, chapter IX.
8. Cf. B.N. Mukherjee, *Agrippan Source*, pp. 87, 99, and 130, n.155.
9. For reasons, see *infra*, chapter I.
10. *NC*, 1940, pp. 105-106.
11. *Infra*, chapter I.
12. See *infra*, chapter I.
13. *Infra*, chapter I.
14. Rapson, *Corolla Numismatica*, p. 254.
15. A. Simonetta, *East and West*, 1957, Vol VIII, p. 66, fn.14; Lahiri, *CIGC*, pp. 182-184, 267; B.N. Mukherjee, *JNSI*, Vol. XLV, p.30, fn. 4. For the reasons given by these scholars in favour of this view, see *infra*, chapter I.
16. See *infra*, chapter I.

17. *Infra*, chapter I.
18. See Cunningham, *CASE*, p. 94.
19. See *infra*, chapter I.
20. Rapson, *CHI*, Vol. I, p 504.
21. *BMC, GSKBI*, p.xxxiv.
22. Cunningham, *CASE*, p. 211. Cf. Tarn, *GBI*, pp. 314-315. But *contra* Marshall, *Taxila*, Vol. I, p. 36.
23. *IG*, p. 116.
23a. See *infra*, chapter I.
24. For the use of the term *Scytho-Parthian*, see *infra*, chapter II. Cf. Thomas, *JRAS*, 1906, p. 215.
25. See *infra*, Chapter II, ns. 7, 8.
26. See *infra*, Chapter II, ns. 11, 12.
27. See *infra*, chapter II.
28. See *infra*, chapter II. That this Azes was the first ruler of this name, see *infra*, chapter II.
29. See *infra*, chapter II.
30. Ibid.
31. *Infra*, chapter II. For the existence of two kings bearing the name of Azes, see *infra*, chapter II.
32. See *infra*, chapter II.
33. See *infra*, chapter II.
34. Coins bearing the name of Orthagnes on the obverse and of Gondophernes and Guḍa on the reverse are known (*infra*, chapter II). That at the time of the issue of these coins, Orthangnes was the overlord of Gondophernes and Guḍa is shown by the fact that his name in Greek occupies the place of honour - the obverse - on these joint issues (see *infra*, chapter II). Guḍa of these coins appears to be the brother of Gondophernes mentioned in the Syriac version of the *Apocryphal Acts of Judus Thomas the Apostle* (see *infra*, chapter II).
35. See the joint issues of Gondophernes and Aśpavarman, *infra*, chapter II.
36. See the joint issues of Orthagnes and Guḍa alone, *infra*, chapter II.
37. See *infra*, chapter II.
38. *Infra*, chapter II.
39. See *infra*, chapter III.
40. *Taxila*, Vol. I, pp. 66-75.

41. *Later Indo-Scythians*, pp. 116-117.
42. See *infra*, chapter III.
43. See, e.g., Bhaskar Chattopadhyay, *The Age of the Kushāṇas - A Numismatic Study*, p. 106; also *infra*, chapter III.
44. See Table III, *infra*, chapter III.
45. See *infra*, Chapter IV, ns. 14, 15.
46. *JNSI*, Vol. XL, pp. 99-100.
47. See *infra*, chapter IV.
48. Mirashi, *Sātavāhanon, etc.*, pt. I, p. 16.
49. *JNSI*, Vol. XXXVIII, Pt. I, p.9.
50. *Infra*, chapter IV.
51. E.g., V.A. Smith, *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 95.
52. E.g., D.R. Bhandarkar, *B,AIN*, pp. 9-10; A.S. Altekar, *GGCBH*, p. xlii; *CGE*, p. 31.
53. E.g., Allan, *infra*, chapter V.
54. E.g., V.S. Agrawala, *JNSI*, Vol. XVII, Pt. I, p. 119; Dr. K.K. Thaplyal, *Purātattva*, No.12, pp. 152-154.
55. See *infra*, chapter V.
56. *Infra*, chapter V.
57. *CHI*, Vol. I, pp. 405-406. Cf. Tarn, *GBI*, p. 201, fn. 4; Lahiri, *CIGC*, pp. 37, 265. *Contra* Narain, *IG*, p. 17. See *infra*, chapter VI.
58. See *infra*, chapter VI.
59. See *infra*, chapter VI.
60. See *infra*, chapter VI.
61. *IG*, p. 72.
62. E.g., Rapson , *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 506; Bachhofer, *JAOS*, 1941, p. 240; Altekar, *JNSI*, Vol. IX, Pt. I, p.7; Narain, *IG*, p. 161.
63. See *infra*, chapter VII.
64. See *infra*, chapter VII.
65. *DHI*, p. 118, fn. 1.
66. *Ibid.*, p. 142.
67. See *JNSI*, Vol. XXVII, Pt. II, pp. 127, 134.
68. See *infra*, chapter VIII.
69. *JNSI*, Vol. XXVII, Pt. II, p. 134.
70. See *infra*, chapter VIII.
71. See *infra*, chapter VIII.
72. Allan regards this as the abbreviated form of *Siddhaṁ*. See *BMC, GD*, p. lxxv.

73. *Infra*, chapter IX

74. *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, pp. 9-10 *Contra*, Altekar, *CGE*, p. 82.

75. See *infra*, chapter IX.

76. For reasons, see *infra*, chapter IX.

77. For reasons, see infra, chapter IX.

78. See *infra*, chapter IX.

79. *JNSI*, Vol. XLIX, p. 87.

80. *Infra*, chapter IX.

81. *NC*, 1887, pp. 177-178.

82. *A Guide to the Principal Coins of the Greeks*, p. 4

82a. See *infra*, chapter X.

83. *GBI*, pp. 334-335.

84. *IG*, pp. 155-156.

85. *Contra*, Burn, *JRAS*, 1941, p. 65; Narain, *IG*, pp. 48-49.

86. Tarn, *GBI*, p. 91, and fns. 2, 3.

87. *GBI*, p. 330.

88. *Ibid.*, pp. 328-330.

89. *IG*, p. 149.

90. See *infra*, chapter X.

91. *JNSI*, Vol. V, p. 151.

92. *Ibid.*, p. 152.

93. *JNSI*, Vol. XI, Pt. I, p.8.

94. *Infra*, chapter X.

SECTION I
JOINT ISSUES

1

JOINT COINS OF THE INDO-GREEK SOVEREIGNS

Agathokleia with Strato I

The earliest joint issues of ancient India are those of the Indo-Greek rulers, Agathokleia and Strato I. There is great controversy regarding the relationship between Agathokleia and Strato I. Some scholars are of the opinion that Agathokleia was the wife of Strato I. Cunningham is quite emphatic in his assertion that "The connection between Straton and Agathokleia can only be that of man and wife."[1] This hypothesis of Cunningham, "not having been formally disproved", had, "in the process of time come to be regarded as a fact."[2] Subsequent scholars accepted this view without questioning it, though there was no clear-cut evidence in favour of this theory. Gardner, too, subscribed to the view of Cunningham.[3] Recently, K.W. Dobbins, has also described Agathokleia as the wife of Strato I.[4]

Prinsep, however, suggested that Agathokleia was the mother of Strato I.[5] Rapson, following Prinsep,[6] regards her as the wife of Menander, who had assumed the regency of her minor son's kingdom after the death of her husband.[7] Smith[8] and Brown[9], too, are of the same view, and it is accepted by scholars like Altekar,[10] Tarn,[11] Sircar,[12] Narain,[13] Lahiri,[14] and B.N. Mukherjee.[15]

We shall try to ascertain this relationship between Agathokleia and Strato I after taking a look at the coin-types issued conjointly by them.

TYPE 1

Obv. : Helmeted bust of Athena, or more likely, of Queen Agathokleia, to r., within astragalus border.

Rev. : Large horned owl walking to r., with head facing. To l. A, within astragalus border.[16]

Gold. Round. (Pl. I, 1)

The coin described above, a stater, is anepigraphous, and as such, its attribution is not certain. Whitehead,[17] Altekar,[18] and Narain[19] attribute these staters to Menander. But, if we accept this attribution, it would be very difficult to explain the absence of the name of Menander on this only stater. Lahiri's attribution[20] of this coin-type to Agathokleia seems to be more convincing. And if this attribution be accepted, it shall stand to reason that this anepigraphous stater was a joint issue of Agathokleia and Strato I, for Agathokleia, in her position as queen-regent, is not known to have struck any coin exclusively in her own name. Whitehead has pointed out that the owl on the present coin is horned, and is "possibly the Indian eagle owl", while the owl on the coins of Menander is always hornless.[21] This difference, too, supports the view that this coin-type is not an issue of Menander.[22]

TYPE 2

Obv. : Bust of queen to r., wearing a ribbon (diadem[23] ?); braid of hair falling on the nape of neck. Gr. legend : ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ (above) ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ (below).

Rev. : A diademed warrior (Strato I[24] or Menander[25] ?) walking to r.; holding shield and lance in l. hand; r.

arm extended. Kh. legend : *Maharajasa tratarasa dhramikasa* (above) *Stratasa* (below).[26]

Silver. Round. (Pl. I,2).

This coin-type does not bear the curious epithet ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΣ of Agathokleia, which is found on some coins of this queen.[27]

The Kharoṣṭhī legend on this coin, interestingly, is not a translation of the Greek legend, as is the usual practice on the bilingual Indo-Greek coins. The same stands true for Types 3 and 4.[28] The epithets *tratara* and *dhramika*, occurring in the Kharoṣṭhī legend for Strato I, are the *Prākṛit* rendering of the Greek epithets ΣΩΤΗΡ and ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ used for Menander on his coins.[29] This fact, too, connects Strato I and Menander.

TYPE 3

Obv. : Bust of queen, wearing diadem, to r. Gr. legend : ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΥ (above) ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ (below).

Rev. : Diademed warrior to r., as on Type 2; Kh. Legend, as on Type 2.[30]

Silver. Round. (Pl. I, 3).

TYPE 4

Obv. : Helmeted bust of queen to r. Gr. legend on three sides:

ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ (l.) ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΥ (top) ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ (r.).

Rev. : Naked Herakles seated on rock to l.; holding club which rests on his r. knee. Kh. legend on three sides:

Maharajasa (r.) *tratarasa dhrami* - (top) *kasa Stratasa* (1.).[31]

Copper. Square. (Pl. I, 4).

TYPE 5

Obv. : Busts of Agathokleia and Strato I, jugate and diademed, to r. Gr. legend :

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ (above) ΚΑΙ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ (below).

Rev. : Standing Athena to l., holding aegis in l. hand; hurling thunderbolt with r. hand. Kh. legend : *Maharajasa tratarasa Stratasa* (above) *Agathukriae* (below).[32]

Silver. Round. (Pl. I, 5).

This is the only coin-type bearing the name of Agathokleia on the obverse as well as the reverse. As such, the *Prākṛit* form of the name of Agathokleia, i.e., *Agathukriae,* is known only from this coin-type.[33]

TYPE 6

Obv. : Busts of Agathokleia and Strato I, as on Type 5. Gr. legend, as on Type 5.

Rev. : As on Type 5. Kh. legend : *Maharajasa tratarasa dhramikasa* (above) *Stratasa* (below).[34]

Silver. Round. (Pl. I, 6).

It is noteworthy that the name of Agathokleia has disappeared from the Kharoṣṭhī legend on the reverse.[35]

TYPE 7

Obv. : Bust of Agathokleia[36] to r. Gr. legend : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΠΙφΑΝΟΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ.

Rev. : "Bow and quiver, with strap." Kh. legend : *Maharajasa prachachhasa tratarasa Stratasa.*[37]

Bronze. Round. (Pl. I, 7).

It is interesting to note that the figure on the obverse that has been recognized by Rapson as that of Agathokleia, has been identified by Gardner as the bust of "Apollo with hair in queue".[38] Rapson, however, has no doubt whatsoever regarding his own identification of the female bust on the obverse of this coin.[39] We, too, after a careful study of the bust on this coin, and the bust of Agathokleia as given on her own joint issues, subscribe to the view of Rapson, and regard the bust given on this coin-type as that of Agathokleia. The significance of the presence of the bust alone on the coin-type of Strato I shall be discussed by us later.

· The coin-types of Agathokleia and Strato I have been described by us above in a chronological order, as it appears to us. A look at these coin-types indicates that Agathokleia was more important than Strato I in the initial years of the latter's reign. On the coin-types 2, 3, and 4, the name and bust of Agathokleia figure on the side bearing the legend in Greek, which, according to most of the numismatists, is indicative of the more prominent position, and hence, she was the more important of the two.[40] Had she been the wife of Strato I, it would have been hardly likely for her to occupy the more important side of the coin. Besides, on the coins displaying the jugate busts of Agathokleia and Strato I,[41] the former appears as a mature middle-aged women, while the latter seems to be quite young, actually in his teens.[42] As such, it seems to us more likely that Agathokleia was the mother of Strato I, who took over the reins of government of her minor son's kingdom in her own hands after the death of her husband.

It has been stated above [43] that while Prinsep merely states that Agathokleia was the mother of Strato I,[44] without giving the name of her husband, Rapson[45] suggests the possibility that Agathokleia might have been the wife of Menander. The reasons he gives in support of his contention are that the non-conventional bust of Athena, helmeted, occurring on the coins of Menander [46] is perhaps a realistic portrait of Agathokleia in the guise of Athena, and it bears a close resemblance to the busts of Agathokleia on the coins she issued conjointly with her son, Strato I. He also suggests that the figure of the warrior on the issues of Agathokleia and Strato I[47] might be that of Menander, especially when a similar figure, presumably that of Menander, is seen on the obverse of some coins of Menander.[48] To Tarn, the evidence cited by Rapson "seems conclusive".[49]

Marshall describes Agathokleia as the mother of Strato I.[50] Sircar, too, is ready to accept this view if one assumes the existence of a second Heliokles, "a later Eucratidian prince, probably a successor of Antialcidas, and not the same as Eucratides's son who ruled about the third quarter of the second century B.C."[51], (since Heliokles has restruck the joint coins of Agathokleia and Strato I, and hence, is posterior to these two). Narain, too, regards her as the wife of Menander, but, like Rapson, adds that "there is no conclusive proof" regarding this relationship.[52] Lahiri[53] queries, "why then should Menander depict the portraiture of Agathokleia on his own coinage unless she was somehow intimately connected with him?"[53a] The scholars who regard Agathokleia as the mother of Strato I, generally accept the theory that she was the wife of Menander,[54] a view which seems to be quite probable, especially when Athena Promachos is seen on the reverse of a coin-type of Agathokleia and Strato I.[55]

Rapson has pointed out[56] that the presence of seated Herakles on the coins of Agathokleia, struck in association with her son, Strato I,[57] establishes her connection with the family of Euthydemos, whose characteristic type is the "Herakles seated". He further suggests that she was a niece or daughter of Demetrios,[58] placing her in the family of Pantaleon and Agathokles on the basis of her name, Agathokleia.[59] Tarn[60] regards her as the daughter of Demetrios, but also admits the possibility of her being the daughter of Apollodotos, if he was a son of Euthydemos, "for her son Strato I uses Apollodotos' type of Apollo and tripod; but he may have used it, not because it had been used by Apollodotus, but because it was Seleucid".[61] However, he assumes that she was a daughter of Demetrios throughout his book, "in default of exact information".[62]

Narain also seems to accept the theory that Agathokleia belonged to the family of Demetrios I.[63] Lahiri, too, regards her as the sister of Agathokles, and a daughter of Demetrios.[64]

Thus, it is seen that Agathokleia was a grand daughter of Euthydemos, and was a "princess in her own right and a member of the royal house,"[65] and her marriage with Menander might have supported,[66] or even legitimized,[67] his claim to royalty.

The coins that Agathokleia struck in association with her son, Strato I, reveal quite clearly the various stages in the career of the queen-regent, and help us considerably in reconstructing the career of the widow of Menander.

Menander, while leading a military campaign, died in camp.[68] His sudden death threw his vast kingdom into confusion. On the one hand, his son Strato was still a minor, too young to administer effectively the vast kingdom he inherited from his

illustrious father, and also to protect it from the enemies, who had begun to cast covetous eyes on the realm of Menander after his death. Heliokles, possibly after being driven out of Bactria, "was knocking at the gates outside."[69] On the other hand, the subjects, especially the Indian subjects, of the kingdom could not be expected to let themselves be governed by a woman without some protest. Agathokleia, in order to save the kingdom which had been built by her husband by sheer force of arms, took the bold step of assuming the regency of the kingdom during her son's minority. In order to placate and please the influential persons of the kingdom, she struck these "Athena-Agathokleia and owl" type staters to be distributed as gifts among these persons. As she was not certain of her position as yet, she did not place her name on the staters, and was satisfied merely by depicting her bust in the guise of Athena, and "A", the initial of her name.[70] This hypothesis explains the anepigraphic nature of the staters.[71] This coin, thus, represents the first stage in the regency of Agathokleia.

Agathokleia seems to have consolidated her position as regent very soon with the help of the trusted and loyal officials - civil and military - and became the virtual ruler of the realm, though she ruled on behalf of her son, Strato I. This stage of her career is represented by the silver coins bearing her name on the obverse, and that of Strato I on the reverse.[72] Here, she is the ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑ, the queen. However, she has not, as yet, assumed the epithet, ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΣ. The name and bust of the queen-regent on the obverse prove beyond doubt that she occupied the supreme position in the government, while the name of Strato I occurring on the reverse reveals that his position was inferior to that of Agathokleia.[73] However, to reassure her "subjects as to the merely temporary nature of her position as Queen", Agathokleia

gives to her son "his full title of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ, or rather its equivalent in Prākṛit."[74]

Agathokleia had won over the support of the influential officials of the kingdom. But her taking up the reins of government in her own hands must naturally have led to strong protests from the common subjects - Greeks as well as Indians - for men have always been averse to being ruled over by a woman. Haughton remarks,[75] "Now in ancient time, people generally and perhaps Orientals especially were inclined to regard with distrust and distaste the rule of a woman, which they knew from experience was liable to lead to intrigues, favourites, and unstable state of affairs in the realm, which might even culminate in civil war or attacks from without. Moreover, in this instance, Heliocles had already encroached upon the territories of Agathocleia and Strato." To silence the murmurs of protests from the subjects against her rule, she assumed the epithet, ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΣ 'god-like, divine', which appears on her next issues struck conjointly with Strato I.[76]

The real significance of this epithet, ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΣ has not been explained satisfactorily as yet. Prinsep takes this epithet to mean "god-nourisher", and regards it as an epithet "coined on purpose for the queen-mother (Agathokleia) after the Oriental style of flattery, in allusion to her royal offspring."[77] He evidently confuses ΤΡΟΠΟΣ for ΤΡΟΦΟΣ. He remarks that this word is "not to be found in the lexicon".[78] Lassen, however, has pointed out its occurrence in Heliodoros,[79] where it occurs "with its normal meaning of 'god-like, divine'."[80] Cunningham,[81] on the basis of the supposition that Agathokleia was a niece or daughter of Demetrios, suggests that "it is not improbable that Theotropos may have some reference to the title of Theos, which was borne by Euthydemus, the father of Demetrius." Rapson[82] sees in this

epithet a probable reference to Agathokleia's position as queen-regent. Wilson translates it as "the servant of God."[83]

The actual significance of this interesting epithet has been revealed by the coming to light of the joint issue of the Scytho-Parthian rulers Machenes and Maues.[84] The obverse Greek legend of this coin reads ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΥ ΜΑΧΗΝΗΣ, which is exactly similar to the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΥ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ occurring on Types 3[85] and 4[86] of the joint coins of Agathokleia and Strato I.G. Le Rider regards Machenes as the spouse of Maues,[87] but it appears more probable that she was the regent of Maues' kingdom during his minority.[88]

If this assumption about Machenes' regency be accepted and it be also accepted that Agathokleia, too, was the mother of Strato I, as is most likely, and as has been already suggested by several scholars like Rapson,[89] Tarn,[90] and Narain,[91] it would become quite clear that the epithet of ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΣ was borne exclusively by the queen-regents, who administered the kingdoms during the minority of their respective sons.

The epithet ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΣ, meaning 'god-like, divine' seems to have been assumed by Agathokleia to obviate the possibility of opposition from the subjects against her - a woman's rule, thereby proclaiming that she is ruling through divine sanction, a step that was followed by Machenes as well.

The coin-types 3.[92] and 4.[93] of Agathokleia and Strato I represent this stage in the career of the queen-regent, when she was obliged to assume the epithet of ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΣ to give divine sanction to her rule. The two types, being of two different denominations and metals, seem to have been issued simultaneously.

This attempt of Agathokleia, it seems, could not cut much ice with her subjects. The protestations of her subjects, it would appear, continued despite all her efforts to quieten them, and as such, soon she was forced by the circumstances to give greater powers to her son. Their next issue, Type 5.[94], depicts the busts of Agathokleia and Strato I, jugate, and the Greek legend on the obverse carries the name and titles of Strato I before the name of Agathokleia. In addition, Agathokleia is given no royal titles, not even the simple Basilissa, on this type. The Kharoṣṭhī legend on the reverse, too, mentions the name of the son with the royal titles before the name of the queen-mother, who, again, is given no title. Thus, at the stage at which this type was issued, Agathokleia no longer occupied the supreme position in the government. She now seems to have delegated greater powers to Strato I, and he now occupied a position equal to, if not superior to that of Agathokleia.

The Greek subjects seem to have been satisfied when Agathokleia delegated equal, or greater, powers to her son.[95] But the protestations of the Indian subjects did not stop and the name of Agathokleia had to be removed from the Kharoṣṭhī legend on the reverse, the legend meant for the Indians to read, as seen on the coins of Type 6.[96] This represents further decline in the power of Agathokleia. Strato I now undoubtedly occupies a position in government, superior to that of his mother.

We now discuss an interesting bronze coin described in the *British Museum Catalogue of the Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India,*[97] which was struck by Strato I. The bust on the obverse of this coin has been identified as that of "Apollo with hair in queue"[98]. But Rapson,[99] on the basis of a comparison of the portraits of Agathokleia on her coins and the bust on this coin, regards this bust as that of Agathokleia. To us,

Rapson's identification seems to be more convincing.

It seems that due to the protests of the subjects to her rule, she herself gradually delegated greater powers to Strato I. This coin, the importance of which has not as yet been fully comprehended, shows that she now had only nominal power in the government, as is evident from the presence of her bust alone on the obverse, without any mention of her name on either side of the coin. It is even likely that now she had ceased to wield any power at all, and that Strato I depicted her bust on the coin merely out of respect for his mother, than out of any other consideration. The possibility, however, that at the time of the issue of this coin, Agathokleia had died and her son depicted her bust on the obverse of his coin to commemorate her, cannot altogether be ruled out.

Having assumed full kingly powers, Strato I struck coins alone, bearing his own name and portrait.[100] These portraits show him in various stages of his life - as a young man,[101] as a middle - aged man,[102] as an old man reigning alone,[103] and also in association with Strato II Philopator,[104] most probably, his grandson.[105]

The joint issues of Agathokleia and Strato I, thus, faithfully reflect the various stages in the regency of Agathokleia. But for these coins, we would never have been able even to know her name, let alone learn about the details of her brief but interesting career.

It has often been suggested that Strato I, in his impatience to assume full regal power and authority, ousted Agathokleia.[106] However, the portrait of Strato I on his seemingly earliest independent issue depicts him as a mere boy, not perhaps above fifteen years of age.[107] "At such a tender age, when he had little

experience of life, we cannot credit him with a political move of such a far-reaching character."[108] Hence, as stated earlier,[109] Agathokleia was obliged to delegate power of government to her son due to the protests of her subjects against the rule of a woman.

It shall be interesting to note that Lahiri has recently altered his views regarding the relationship between Agathokleia and Strato I, and the significance of the issues bearing their joint names.[110] It must also be noted that even in his *Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins*,[111] in the initial parts, he accepts the theory that Agathokleia was the queen of Menander, who acted as queen-regent during the minority of her son, Strato I.[112] But towards the end of the same work,[113] he seems to be inclined to regard Agathokleia as the wife of Strato I.

The reason for regarding Agathokleia as the wife of Strato I is that the profile of Agathokleia on the coins bearing the conjugate busts is significantly to the left of the profile of Strato I, which is the formal position of the wife, as illustrated by the conjugate busts of known husbands and wives, viz., "those of Ptolemy II and his sister-wife Arsinoe (*GC*,[114] Pl.LVII, 1), of Ptolemy IV and his wife Laodice *(ibid.*, Pl.LVII,7), of Hermaeus and his wife Calliope (Pl.XXII, 1),[115] and of Heliocles and his wife Laodice." Moreover, on the coins of Cleopatra Thea and her son Antiochos VIII the profile of the mother is to the *right* of that of Antiochos VIII[115a]. But, we find it difficult to regard Agathokleia as the wife of Strato I merely on the basis of the position of her bust on her coins, when there is so much[116] to support the theory that she was the wife of Menander, and the mother of Strato I.[117]

According to Lahiri's altered view, our coin-types 5[118] and 6[119] were issued by Strato I to commemorate his marriage with the

Euthydemid princess, Agathokleia, which marriage brought a "considerable amount of prestige" to Strato I.[120]

Our coin-types 2,[121] 3,[122] and 4,[123] Lahiri takes to have been "struck by Agathokleia *alone*",[124] or else, he says, "the name of Strato I would have been on the obverse along with that of Agathokleia and *also* the name of Agathokleia would have been on the reverse along with that of Strato."[125] He further suggests that possibly, these coin-types were issued by Agathokleia during some grave illness of Strato I, when Agathokleia looked after the work of administration of the kingdom on behalf of the king.[126] He tries to explain away the absence of the name of Strato from the obverse and that of Agathokleia from the reverse by saying that as the Greek subjects recognised her superior position as the virtual administrator during the king's illness, she placed her name on the obverse in Greek, but for the Indian subjects, who were averse to the rule of a woman, the sovereign was Strato I himself, "for whom his consort was running the administration for the time being"[127] Hence his name on the reverse in Kharoṣṭhī for the Indians to read, the name of the queen being on the obverse in Greek for the 'understanding' Greek subjects.

We, however, find it difficult to accept this theory. First, it assumes "a possible grave illness of Strato I"[128] Secondly, the reason given by Lahiri for the absence of the name of Strato I from the obverse legend is not convincing. Had Agathokleia been temporarily looking after the work of administration during Strato's illness, it is hardly possible that she could have relegated the name of the sovereign to the reverse, no matter how powerful she might have been at the moment. Even if the king is gravely ill, he does not cease to be the sovereign, and the person who is temporarily

looking after the work of administration cannot possibly assume a position superior to that of the king.

Thus, the suggestion that these coins were issued during the early stages of Agathokleia's regency, when Strato I was only a nominal ruler,[129] remains more convincing.

STRATO I WITH STRATO II

Next, we come to the interesting joint issues of two persons bearing the name of Strato. It has generally been accepted that these coins, which shall be described below,[130] were issued by Strato I, - who also struck coins in association with his mother, Agathokleia[131] - and another king bearing the same name, i.e., Strato II.[132] But recently, some scholars have put forth the possiblity of the existence of three kings with the name of Strato, and they regard the two Stratos of these coins as Strato II and Strato III respectively.[133] We shall return to this later.[134]

TYPE 1

Obv. : Bust of king showing old age, diademed, to r. Gr. legend : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ ΣΤΗΡC ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝ ....[135]

Rev. : Pallas, hurling thunderbolt, to l . Kh. legend : *Maharajasa tratarasa Stratasa potrasa chasa priyapita Stratasa.*[136]

Silver. Round. (Pl. I, 8).

After a careful study of the photographs of the coins of this type, we are inclined to accept Rapson's readings of the obverse and reverse legends, as correct.

TYPE 2

Obv. : As the obverse of Type 1. Traces of Gr. legend.

Rev. : As the reverse of Type 1. Kh. legend : *Maharajanaṁ tratarasa Stratasa potrasa chasa priyapita Stratasa.*[137]

Silver. Round. (Pl. I, 9).

We have described this coin as a separate type on the basis of the difference in the reverse legend.

TYPE 3

Obv. : Apollo to r., holding arrow in both hands. Traces of Gr. legend.

Rev. : Tripod-Lebes. Kh. legend, as on the reverse of Type 1.[138]

Lead. Round.

After having described the coin-types issued by the two Stratos conjointly, we return to the controversy that whether there existed three kings of the name of Strato or only two.

The earlier numismatists believed in the existence of only two Stratos,[139] and regarded the Strato *Tratara* of these coins as Strato I Soter, who once struck coins in conjunction with his mother, Agathokleia,[140] and Strato *Priyapita* as Strato II Philopator.

However, recently, the possibility of the existence of three Stratos has been suggested.[141] The reason given in favour of this contention may be summed up as follows : Some barbarous coins,[142] as well as these joint coins, depict the king as an old man of "more than seventy years" of age with "toothless jaws and sunken cheeks."[143] It is pointed out that no well-struck coins of Strato I show him as an old man, and the most elderly portrait of Strato I possibly occurring on some tetradrachms bearing the epithets ΕΠΙΦΑΝΗΣ and ΣΩΤΗΡ together is of a man not older than 45 or 50 years.[144] If the barbarous coins with the old-age

portrait of Strato are attributed to Strato I, it would mean a gap of about twenty years in his career,[145] for we have no portrait of Strato I "which may link the middle-aged king of his 'Epiphanes' series with the aged portraits on the crude drachms and on the joint issues of Strato I and Strato II."[146] Lahiri regards such a gap in Strato's career as "highly improbable",[147] and attributes the barbarous drachms bearing the old age portraits of Strato to a Strato Soter different from Strato I.[148]

It has also been pointed out that apart from the very first stage in his career, Strato I never uses the epithet ΣΩΤ HP alone, but in conjunction with either ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ or ΕΠΙφΑΝΗΣ, and that it is "not natural for Strato I to drop altogether.both his subsidiary epithets - ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ and ΕΠΙφΑΝΗΣ - at the end of his career."[1149]

It is, therefore, concluded by these scholars "that there existed two kings named Straton Soter,"[150]and that it was Strato II Soter who struck the barbarous drachms, and that this Strato II Soter also struck coins conjointly with Strato III Philopator.

The absence of a portrait of Strato I linking his middle-aged busts with the old-age busts, is indeed significant. If we accept the theory of only two kings named Strato, this absence can be explained only by assuming a break in the rule of Strato I, for a long period of time. The scholars who support the theory of two Stratos believe that there was a period in the life of Strato I, when he was superseded by some other king(s), and that after some fifteen (or more) years, he reasserted his power. Rapson says, "a series of portraits shows Strato ... - as a youth (Pl. VII. 20), or as a bearded man (Pl. VII. 21) - and then in advanced old age, with toothless jaws and sunken cheeks, both, as the Kharoṣṭhī legends indicate, reigning alone and in association with his grandson, Strato II Philopator (Pl. VII. 23). To judge from these portraits, we

have here glimpses of a life of more than seventy."[151] He states that there was a long interval between "the earliest and the latest"[152] portraits, and places in this interval the reigns of Apollodotos Philopator, Dionysios, and Zoilos,[153] who probably belonged to the family of Apollodotos I.[154]

Tarn,[155] however, does not refers to any break in the rule of Strato I. It is Narain who explicitly states that the reign of Strato I was not a continuous one, "for his coinage indicates the vicissitudes of his career."[156] On the basis of the study of the coin portraits of Strato I, he suggested that Strato I's reign consisted of two phases, with an interval of fifteen or more years between the two phases. The first phase, which included the regency of Agathokleia, lasted for about thirty-five years. The second phase lasted for about five years.[157] In the interval, which was a long one, between the two phases, Narain places the reigns of Apollodotos, Zoilos II, Dionysios, and Apollophanes.[158]

Narain also suggests that in the re-establishment of his power, Strato I was assisted by Strato II.[159] He further suggests that the Śaka king Maues "perhaps supported the cause of Strato against Apollodotus."[160] But it must be pointed out that a coin of Maues (seated male : elephant) is found to have been overstruck by the "seated Apollo : tripod-lebes" type of Apollodotos II,[161] which shows that Apollodotos must have achieved a victory over Maues. The contention that in the reassertion of his power, Strato I was helped by Maues, therefore, does not seem to be very convincing.

An interval in the reign of a king, though not a very common occurrence, is not impossible. The statement that the Strato who issued the well-struck coins, cannot be identical with the Strato who issued the barbarous coins[162] can easily be refuted.

Strato had come to power after a long interval of time. The times were turbulent. The internecine warefare[163] had exhausted the resources of the Greeks. No wonder, the coins struck by Strato I in the second phase of his rule are barbarous and crude in nature.

Moreover, the epithet ΣΩΤΗΡ is borne by Strato of the well-struck coins, as well as by Strato of the barbarous ones (the issues of the senior Strato of these joint coins). Though this is no definite evidence to *establish* the identity of the two Stratos, it increases the possibility of their being identical.

We, therefore, find it hard to accept the theory of the existence of three kings named Strato, and regard these joint coins to have been struck by Strato I and Strato II, as suggested by Rapson, Tarn, Narain, and others.[164]

Cunningham, on the basis of his readings[165] of the Greek and Kharoṣṭhī legends on the joint issues of Strato I and Strato II, describes Strato II as the eldest son of Strato I. He translates the Greek legend as "of King Straton Soter, the son of Straton,"[166] and the Kharoṣṭhī legend as "of King Straton Soter,the son of, and lover of his father, Straton."[167] The accuracy of Cunningham's reading might have been suspected, but had never been formally disproved, till Rapson did so in 1906.[168] Rapson's suspicion regarding the correctness of Cunningham's readings of the obverse and the reverse legends on these coins was aroused by three things. In the first place,the obverse and the reverse legends "do not correspond to each other, as is regularly the case on the coins of this class."[169] In the second place, the occurrence of the form *Saṁpriyapita* is very curious. In the third place, the title *Rajaraja* (= ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ), which Cunningham reads in the Kharoṣṭhī legend, was never borne by any Indo-Greek ruler, and its use was confined to the Scytho-Parthian kings.[170] Rapson

examined ten silver and five lead coins in the *British Museum*, and concluded that Cunningham's readings of the legends were incorrect. He reads the Greek legend as BACIΛEΩC CΩTHPOC CTPATΩNC [KAI ϕIΛO]/CTPATΩNC, in which he is certain that ϕIΛOΠATOPOC or some abbreviation of its was intended, but is doubtful about the reading of the traces preceding this word, which, he suggests, might have been intended simply for KAI. He is, however, quite emphatic in regarding the reading YIOYas "impossible".[171] Thus, according to Rapson, the Greek legend does not give us the relationship that existed between Strato I and Strato II.

Here, the Kharoṣṭhī legend comes to our help. Rapson noticed two varieties of the Kharoṣṭhī legend on the joint issues of Strato I and Strato II. He reads the first variety as *Maharajasa tratarasa Stratasa potrasa chasa priyapita-Stratasa*,[172] i.e., "(The coin) of King Strato Soter and of his grandson Strato Philopator."[173] The second variety of the Kharoṣṭhī legend, Rapson gives as *Maharajanaṁ tratarasa Stratasa p(.)trasa chasa priyapita - / Stratasa*,[174] where *Maharajanaṁ* is the termination of the genetive plural. In this variety of the Kharoṣṭhī legend, there is no vowel-stroke in the letter *pa* of *p(.)trasa*, but on the basis of the reading of this word as *potrasa* in the first variety of the Kharoṣṭhī legend, Rapson restores this *p(.)trasa* as *potrasa*.[175] On the basis of this reading, Rapson says that Strato II was the grandson, and not the son, of Strato I,[176] as originally suggested by Cunningham.

This suggestion of Rapson has been accepted by most of the scholars, like Whitehead,[177] Tarn,[178] and Narain.[179] We would also like to add that according to the Greek system of nomenclature, the eldest son is often named after his grandfather. This fact also supports the theory that Strato II Philopator was the grandson of Strato I Soter.

It is interesting to note that Cunningham had attributed the coins bearing the names of Strato Soter and Strato Philopator to Strato II alone.[180] But Rapson, on the basis of the reverse Kharoṣṭhī legends on these coins, has proved "with absolute certainty, that these are not the coins of Strato II Philopator reigning alone, but the coins of Strato I Soter reigning conjointly with Strato II Philopator."[181] This is further proved by the fact that these coins give the portrait of Strato I, and not that of Strato II, for the coin-portrait is that of a "very old man with sunken cheeks", and has to be the portrait of the elder Strato.[182]

We do not know of any coin struck by Strato II Philopator alone. While examining the joint coins of the two Stratos, and the barbarous coins struck by Strato I alone during the second phase of his reign, we noticed that on certain barbarous coins of Strato I alone, the face of Strato I seems to be older than that seen on his joint issues struck in association with his grandson, Strato II.[183] On this basis, we have to conclude that Strato II Philopator might have predeceased Strato I Soter, leaving his grandfather old and helpless, "to witness the disappearance of the last traces of Greek rule in north-west India."[184]

HERMAIOS WITH KALLIOPE.[185]

The coins bearing the conjugate busts and the names of Hermaios and Kalliope appear to be entirely different in nature from the similar coins issued conjointly by Agathokleia and Strato I.[186] While, as has been seen above, the latter coin-types were issued by a queen-regent and her minor son, the former coin-type is generally believed to have been issued by a king and his

queen,[187] though there is no definite evidence to prove this. There is no coin-type of Hermaios and Kalliope bearing the name and/or bust of Kalliope alone on the obverse.[188] Hence, Hermaios and Kalliope can only be man and wife.[189]

Though several coin-types issued by Hermaios singly have come to light, only one coin-type issued by him conjointly with his queen is known so far.

Obv. : Busts of Hermaios and Kalliope, conjugate and diademed, to r. *Gr.* legend : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ (above) ΚΑΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΟΠΗΣ (below).

Rev. : King, helmeted, diademed, and panoplied, on prancing horse, to r.; spear visible on one side of the horse; bow in case on the other. *Kh.* legend : *Maharajasa tratarasa Heramayasa* (above) *Kaliyapaya* (below).[190]

Silver. Round. (Pl. II, 2).

The coin-type issued by Hermaios and Kalliope is interesting because of the reverse device, "king on prancing horse". The figure of a divinity, which generally occurs on the reverse side of the Indo-Greek coins, is here conspicuous by its absence, and is replaced by this device of "king on prancing horse", which, as has been noticed by scholars,[191] occurs on the reverse of some of the silver coins of four other Indo-Greek sovereigns - Antimachos II,[192] Philoxenos,[193] Menander II,[194] and Hippostratos.[195] This fact, when coupled with another one, that on a series of silver issues of Hermaios alone, the device of "king on prancing horse" occurs on the obverse, the place usually reserved for the royal bust,[196] reveals the importance this device carried for Hermaios, and also gives us an idea of the significance of the Hermaios - Kalliope issues.

Cunningham has suggested that "from the royal horseman on her coins", Kalliope would appear "to have been a descendant of the Macedonian Antimachus."[197] Besides, her coins show her as wearing a diadem. So, she must have been a princess in her own right.[198] As such, Cunningham's suggestion that the joint coins of Hermaios and Kalliope "refer to a royal alliance", between the family of Antimachos, and that of Eukratides, seems to be quite convincing, and has come to be accepted by most of the subsequent scholars.[199] Tarn, however, adds that "there is no certainty that Hermaeus *was* descended from Eucratides."[200] But still, the theory that the rival families of Antimachos and Eukratides were united by this marriage-alliance seems to be "very attractive."

Returning to the significance of this coin-type, it would appear that the marriage with Kalliope was of great political significance to Hermaios, and might have led to some acquisition of territories to Hermaios. May it be suggested that Kalliope was the only issue of her royal father,[201] and after his death, she was the only legitimate claimant to the throne of her father's kingdom ? Kalliope, being a woman, ruled her father's kingdom conjointly with her husband, who, it must be made clear, was himself a king. Though there is no evidence to prove it, yet this supposition alone seems to provide the most logical explanation for the issue of these joint coins. Hermaios was the ruler of his own kingdom as well as the co-ruler of the kingdom Kalliope had inherited from her father, while the queen was the co-ruler of the latter kingdom only. Hence the name and titles of Hermaios before the name of Kalliope, and "king on prancing horse", the device of the ancestors of Kalliope, occur on the reverse of these joint issues.

But this arrangement could have possibly lasted only for a short period of time, for Hermaios is so far known to have issued

only one coin-type in association with his queen.[202] After consolidating his position in the kingdom of Kalliope's deceased father, or after the death of Kalliope, Hermaios began to issue coins in his name alone.

The first issue of Hermaios after removing the name and bust of Kalliope would appear to be the one bearing the device of "king on prancing horse" on the obverse.[203] The issue of coins with this particular device on the obverse seems to have been an attempt of Hermaios to make his rule alone acceptable to the people of the kingdom Kalliope had inherited from her father, and had subsequently ruled as a co-ruler with Hermaios. E.T. Newell, though not realising this significance of the "king with prancing horse" obverse coins of Hermaios, remarks, that these coins were "among Hermaeus' earlier issues and was soon replaced by his far commoner coins adorned with the royal portrait on the obverse."[204]

The position of Hermaios must then have become very strong in the kingdom of his queen's father, and it was no longer necessary for him to depict the devise of "king on prancing horse" to make his rule acceptable to the people there.

It may be noted in passing that from the features of the royal couple on the obverse of the joint issue of Hermaios and Kalliope, it stands revealed that by the time of the issue of these coins, there was a marked decline in the art of portraiture.[205]

LYSIAS WITH (?) ANTIALKIDAS[205a]

A coin bearing the name of Lysias on the obverse, and that of Antialkidas on the reverse, presents a very interesting, but difficult problem. The coin-type is being described below.

Obv. : Bearded bust of Herakles, to r.; club over left shoulder. *Gr.* legend on three sides : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ(l.)ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ (top) ΛΥΣΙΟΥ (r.)

Rev. : Egg-shaped caps (pilei) of the Dioskuri, surmounted by the stars, and two palm branches between. Kh. legend : *Maharajasa* (r.) *jayadharasa* (top) *Aṁtialikitasa* (l.).[206]

Copper. Square. (Pl.II, 3)

Antialkidas is generally believed to belong to the family of Eukratides.[207] Gardner has expressed the view that because the common type of Antialkidas is Dioskuri, and because his portrait resembles Heliokles', Antialkidas has to be placed in the family of Eukratides.[208] He, however, remarks that the connection between Antialkidas and Lysias is obscure.[209] Scholars are not sure about the family of Lysias. Wilson places Lysias in the rival family of Euthydemos.[210] Rapson, too, on the basis of the types "bust of king wearing elephant's scalp: Herakles standing", which were struck by Lysias singly, and which is the characteristic type of Demetrios, places Lysias in the Euthydemid family.[211] Tarn regards Lysias as a grandson of Demetrios.[212] Narain also regards him as a scion of the Euthydemid family.[213]

Lassen, however, places Lysias and Antialkidas in the same family.[214] Cunningham also regards the two as belonging to the same family, and considers Lysias as the predecessor, and the father or elder brother of Antialkidas.[215] Marshall[216] and Sircar,[217] too, are of the same view.

On the basis of the coin-types issued by Lysias and Antialkidas separately, the view of Tarn and Narain, that

Antialkidas belonged to the family of Eukratides, and Lysias to the family of Euthydemos, seems to be quite convincing, though not final.

Earlier scholars regarded this coin-type as a joint issue and it was generally taken to "denote the association of the younger prince in the government",[218] the 'younger prince' in this context being Antialkidas, for he occupies the inferior position on the reverse side of the coin, and his name and titles are given in *Prākṛit* in the Kharoṣṭhī script.[219] Rapson notices that on this joint issue, Lysias is associated with Antialkidas,[220] but does not express any view regarding their relationship. Gardner, too, regards it as a joint coin.[221]

Tarn, who regards Lysias and Antialkidas as belonging to the rival *Yavana* families of Euthydemos and Eukratides,[222] takes this coin not as a joint coin,[223] but as a coin issue by Lysias alone and referring to, but not expressing, a *rapprochement*, "probably a treaty of permanent peace," between the two *Yavana* factions, in view of the Śaka menace already coming into view.[224] He suggests that when Heliokles occupied Bactria, some son of Demetrios maintained himself in some hill kingdom, and that Lysias, the son of this petty prince, enterered into a treaty with Antialkidas and became an associate of some sort, though not a sub-king of Antialkidas, while he retained his hill kingdom. The coins bearing the names of Lysias and Antialkidas, being issued by Lysias alone, carry the name of Lysias in Greek on the obverse, though Antialkidas was probably the more powerful of the two.[225]

This hypothesis of Tarn, though very attractive, is not wholly satisfactory. Marshall has remarked,[226] "When a coin bears the names of kings without any indication of their relationship, it is natural to suppose that the king named on the obverse is the

more important and senior of the two. It is hardly credible that a local princeling, reigning somewhere in the hills, would have the hardihood to relegate the great Antialkidas to an inferior position on the reverse of the coins which were struck in the latter's own mint and circulated in his own territories."

Whitehead has expressed doubt about this coin being in the nature of a joint issue.[227] Narain was the first to express the possibility of this coin being a 'mule',[228] and he says, "In a period when the mints must have frequently passed from one king's possession to that of another, such a 'mule' is quite possible."[229]

Beside disagreeing with Tarn's view of a *rapprochement* between the rival Indo-Greek families, he "guesses" from the fact that Antialkidas overstruck the coins of Lysias, and Heliokles II, those of Philoxenos, that Lysias and Philoxenos had joined hands against the family of Eukratides.[230] If this suggestion is correct, this coin *is* most probably a 'mule'.

The greatest difficulty in accepting this coin-type as a joint issue is that on this coin, the name of Antialkidas, who was a ruler far greater than Lysias, occurs in the inferior position on the reverse, which scholars find "hardly credible".[231] However, if one regards this coin-type to have been issued in the initial days of the reign of Antialkidas, when Lysias might have been the more powerful of the two, the inferior position of Antialkidas on the reverse side of the coin becomes quite understandable. Again, there might have been two kings of the name of Antialkidas : the first king of this name might not have been very powerful, but the second Antialkidas was quite powerful, and it is this Antialkidas II who overstruck the coins of Lysias. The king who occupies the inferior position on the reverse of the coin -type of Lysias, then, might be identified as Antialkidas I.

Antialkidas II might have been a son or grandson, and a successor of the first king of that name. Father and son have been known to use the similar coin-type.[232] Grandfather and grandson, too have been seen to use similar devices on their respective coins.[233] Father and son are also known to have assumed similar epithets. Both Menander and his son Strato I are known to have assumed the titles of ΣΩΤΗΡ[234] and ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ[235]. This can explain the use, by Antialkidas II, of the coin-type and the title *Jayadhara* of Antialkidas I, which occurs on the reverse of the coin in question, if the assumption of the existence of two kings named Antialkidas be accepted.

We would also like to state that two coins of Antialkidas in the *Punjab Museum Collection*[236] have in the obverse legend, the late forms of the letters Σ and Ω. Whitehead finds this "remarkable occurring so early,"[237] and says that these late forms of the letters are not found "in this series prior to the well-known copper coins of Nikias."[238] May it be suggested that these coins, too, belong to the second Antialkidas, and were his latest issues ?

It is true that on the Lysias - Antialkidas coin, both Lysias and Antialkidas are given full royal titles.[239] But the same is the case with the joint issues of Azes and Azilises.[240] So this is not a strong reason for not regarding the coin-type as a joint issue. Though the joint nature of this coin-type cannot altogether be ruled out, yet Narain's suggestion that this coin-type is a 'mule' is in no way less logical. In the present state of our knowledge, it would not be justifiable to rule out either of the possibilities.

References

1. *CASE*, p. 256.
2. *Corolla Numismaticc*, p. 248.
3. *BMC, GSKBI*, p. xxxv.

4. *A Schema of Indo-Baktrian Coinage*, pp. 24, 27, 56-57.
5. *Essays*, Vol. I, p. 398.
6. *Corolla Numismatica*, p. 248.
7. *Corolla Numismatica*, p. 248.
8. *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 21.
9. *Coins of India*, p. 27.
10. *JNSI*, Vol. VII, p. 77.
11. *GBI*, p. 226.
12. *AIU*, pp. 116-17.
13. *IG, pp.* 75, 110.
14. *CIGC*, pp. 71-72. Also *JNSI*, Vol. XVI, pp. 189-96. Lahiri has, however, recently changed his view in favour of Cunningham's. See *JNSI*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 69-73.
15. *JNSI* Vol. XLV, pp. 28-29.
16. Lahiri, *CIGC*, pp. 71-72, Pl. I, 1,2.
17. *NC*, 1940, pp. 105-106.
18. *JNSI*, Vol. XI, pp. 45-46
19. *IG*, p. 99.
20. *JNSI*, Vol. XVI, Pt. II, pp. 189-196.
21. *NC*, 1940, pp. 106-106.
22. *CIGC*, p. 71.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 72.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 71.
25. *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 498, fn. 1.
26. *CIGC*, p. 72. Pl.I.3; *TMA*, pp. 77, 87, No. 9, Pl. VIII, 17.
27. See *infra*, Type 3 and 4.
28. *JNSI*, Vol. XVI, p. 192, fn. 1, where Lahiri has pointed this out for Types 3 and 4.
29. *Ibid.*
30. *CIGC*, p. 73, Pl. I, 4; *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 21, No. 1, Pl. IV, 11.
31. *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 52, Pl. V, 370. *CASE*, p. 245, Pl. XI, 8; *CIGC*, p. 73, Pl. I, 6.
32. *NC*, 1950, p. 215; *CIGC*, p. 74, Pl. I,7.
33. *CIGC*, p. 74.

34. *NC*, 1887, p. 187, Pl. VII, 7; *CIGC*, p. 74, Pl.I, 8.
35. For the significance of this point, see *infra*.
36. For this identification, see *Corolla Numismatica*, p. 250.
37. *Corolla Numismatica*, p. 250, Pl. xii, 5.
38. *BMC, GSKBI*, p. 41.
39. *Corolla Numismatica*, p. 250.
40. See *Corolla Numismatica*, p. 247.
41. *CIGC*, Pl. I, 7.8.
42. See Tarn, *GBI*, p. 226; Narain, *IG*, p. 110, Pl. III, 1.
43. *Supra*.
44. *Essays*, Vol. I, p. 398.
45. *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 498.
46. E.g., *PMC*, Vol. I, section I, nos. 480. and 482.
47. *Corolla Numismatica*, Pl., xii, 4. Cf. *CIGC*, Pl. I, 3.
48. *PMC*, Vol I, Pl. VI, 515.
49. *GBI*, p. 225.
50. *Taxila*, Vol. I, p. 34.
51. *AIU*, pp. 116-117. Sircar places Menander very late (115-90 B.C.). See *ibid*., p. 113.
52. *IG*, p. 75.
53. *JNSI*, Vol. XVI, Pt. II, p. 190.
53a. As mentioned earlier, Lahiri now regards Agathokleia as the wife of Strato I. See *JNSI*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 70-73.
54. See *JNSI*, Vol. XVI, p. 189.
55. *CIGC*, p. 74, Pl. I, 7.
56. *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 498; cf. Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 272.
57. *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 52, Pl. V, 370; *CASE*, p. 245, Pl. XI, 8; *CIGC*, p. 73, Pl. I, 6.
58. *Corolla Numismatica*, p. 249.
59. *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 498.
60. *GBI*, pp. 78, 225.
61. *Ibid*., p. 78.
62. *Ibid.*
63. *IG*, p. 115, and fn. 10.
64. *JNSI*, Vol. XVI, p. 189.
65. *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 498.
66. Narain, *IG*, p. 75.
67. Tarn, *GBI*, p. 225.

68. Lahiri makes this statement on the authority of Plutarch. See *JNSI*, Vol. XVI, p. 191; also Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 283.
69. *JNSI*, Vol. XVI. p. 192.
70. *JNSI*, Vol. XVI, p. 192.
71. Here, we have accepted Lahiri's suggestion that Agathokleia distributed these staters as gifts among the influential persons, but we differ with him as regards the occasion for the issue of the staters. (See *JNSI*, Vol. XVI, p.191). If Menander was away on a campaign, but was still alive, why should his name not be put on the staters ? This question has been ignored by Lahiri. It is interesting to note that the other coin issued by Agathokleia during Menander's absence (*CHI*, Vol I, p. 531, Pl. VI, 15), as stated by Lahiri (*op. cit.* p. 191) bears the name of Menander on both the sides.
72. *CIGC*, p. 72, Pl. I,3. See *supra*, Type 2.
73. See *JNSI*, Vol. XVI, p. 192, fn. 1.
74 *NC*, 1948, p. 137.
75. *Ibid.*, p. 137.
76. *CIGC*, p. 73, Pl. I, 4; see *supra*, Type 3. Also the copper coins, *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 52, Pl. V, 370, *CIGC*, p. 73, Pl. I, 6; see *supra*, Type 4.
77. Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I, p. 398.
78. *Ibid*
79. Carm. v. 250.
80. See Whitehead, *NC*, 1950. p. 216.
81. *CASE*, p. 256.
82. *Corolla Numismatica*, p. 249.
83. *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 271.
84. *JNSI*, Vol. XLV, p. 27, Pl. IV, 6.
85. See *supra*, Type 3.
86. See *supra*, Type 4.
87. "Monnaise de Taxila et d'Arachosie, une uouvelle reine de Taxila", in *Revue des Etudes Grecques*, 1967, Vol. LXXX, p. 339.
88. See *infra*, chapter II.
89. *Corolla Numismatica*, pp. 248-249, 252.
90. *GBI*, pp. 225-26.
91. *IG*, pp. 110-111; also see supra.

92. See *supra*, Type 3.
93. See *supra*, Type 4.
94. See *CIGC*, p. 74, Pl. I, 7; also *supra*, Type 5.
95. See above.
96. *CIGC*, p. 74, Pl. I, 8.
97. p. 41, coins of Strato I, no. 12. Also *supra*.
98. *BMC, GSKBI*, p. 41.
99. *Corolla Numismatica*, p. 250.
100. See, e.g. , our Pl. II, 1.
101. *CHI*,Vol. I , P1. VII, 20.
102. Ibid., P1. VII, 21.
103. *BMC, GSKBI*, P1.X, 13.
104. *CHI*, Vol. I , Pl. VII,23.
105. See *infra*; the joint issues of Strato I Soter and Strato II Philopator, *infra*.
106. Narain, *IG*, p. 110.
107. See Rapson, *Corolla Numismatica*, pp. 250-251, P1. xii, 7.
108. M.V.D. Mohan, *The Indo- Greek Coins*, p. 91 . We would, however, wish to point out that Akbar did this very thing at the age of a little over 17 years. See A.L. Srivastava, *A Short History of Akbar the Great*, p. 12.
109. *Supra*.
110. *JNSI*, Vol. X X X I X,pp.69-73.
111. First published in 1965.
112. See *CIGC*, pp. 13, 72, 172- 73.
113. See *ibid*., pp. 267-268. In *JNSI*, Vol. XXXI X, p. 70, he is definite that Agathokleia was the wife of Strato I.
114. C. Seltman, *Greek Coins*.
115. In *CIGC*
115a. *Greek Coins*, PL. LIV, 5. See CIGC, p. 268.
116. See *supra*.
117. Cf. Altekar, *Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, Pl. I, 8-13, where Kumāradevī, the queen of Chandragupta I, is to his right.
118. See *supra*.
119. See *supra*.
120. *JNSI*, Vol XXXIX, p. 70.
121. See *supra*.

122. See *supra.*
123. See *supra.*
124. *JNSI*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 72.
125. *Ibid,*
126. *Ibid.*, p. 73
127. *JNSI*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 73.
128. *Ibid.*
129. See *supra.*
130. See below, Types 1-3 of the two Stratos.
131. See *supra.*
132. See Rapson, *Corolla Numismatica*, pp. 252-257; Tarn, *GBI*, pp. 226, 317, 323; Narain, *IG*, pp. 89, 102, 111, 146.
133. Simonetta, *East and West*, 1957, Vol. VIII, p. 66, fn. 14; Lahiri, *CIGC*, pp. 182-84-267; B.N. Mukherjee, *JNSI*, Vol XLV, p. 30, fn. 4.
134. See *infra.*
135. Cunningham reads the legend as in *CASE*, p. 245; Rapson, however, completes it as in *Corolla Numismatica*, p. 255.
136. This is Rapson's reading, see *Corolla Numismatica*, p. 253. Cunningham, however, reads it as *Maharaja rajarajasa Stratasa putrasa cha saṁpriyapita Stratasa.* (*CASE*, p. 246). For illustration,see *Corolla Numismatica*, Pl. xii, 12.
137. See *Corolla Numismatica*, p. 254, Pl. xii, 13, 15.
138. *Corolla Numismatica*, p. 257, Pl. xii, 16; PMC, Vol. I, pp. 81-82, Pl. VIII, 647.
139. *Supra*, Chapter I, n. 132.
140. See *supra.*
141. See *East and West*, 1957, Vol. VIII, p. 66, fn. 14; *CIGC*, pp. 182-184, 267; *JNSI*, Vol. XLV, p. 30, fn. 4.
142. *CIGC*, p. 183, Pl. XXXII, 8-10.
143. *CHI*, Vol I, p. 499.
144. *CIGC*, p. 182.
145. *Ibid.*
146. *IG*, p. 111.
147. *CIGC*, p. 182.
148. *IHQ*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 166-170.
149. *CIGC*, p. 182.
150. *East and West*, 1957, Vol. VIII, p. 66, fn. 14.

151. *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 499.

152. *Ibid.*

153. *Ibid.*

154. In *Corolla Numismatica*, pp. 245-258, he, however, notes no break in the reign of Strato I. This fact has been noticed by Narain (*IG*, p. 111).

155. *GBI*. It should be pointed out that Tarn regards Apollodotos II, Dionysios, Zoilos II, and Apollophanes as the sub-kings or successors of Strato I, and not as his rivals. See *GBI*, p. 317.

156. *IG*, p. 111.

157. *Ibid.*

158. *IG*, pp. 145-146, Cf. *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 499, where these three rulers are regarded as contemporaries of Strato I.

159. *IG*, p. 146.

160. *Ibid.*, p. 111; also see p. 146.

161. *JNSI*, Vol. XVII, Pt. II, p. 14, pl. I, 7.

162. Simonetta, *East and West*, 1957, Vol. VIII, p. 66 fn. 14.

163. The warfare with Apollodotos, Zoilos II, Dionysios, and Apollophanes.

164. Could it be that Strato I was the father of Menander, and Strato II, a son of the latter; and the Strato on the joint issues with Agathokleia was Strato II ?

165. See *supra* ns. 135, 136 above. *CASE*, pp. 245-246, 257-258.

166. *CASE*, p. 257.

167. *Ibid.*

168. *Corolla Numismatica*, pp. 252-258.

169. *Corolla Numismatica*, p. 253.

170. *Ibid.*

171. *Ibid.*, p. 255.

172. *Ibid.*, p. 253.

173. *Corolla Numismatica*, p. 253.

174. *Ibid.*, p. 254.

175. *Ibid.*

176. *Ibid.*

177. *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 81, fn. 1.

178. *GBI*, pp. 226, 317, 323.

179. *IG*, pp. 89, 146.

180. See *CASE*, pp. 257-258.

181. *Corolla Numismatica*, p. 254.

182. *Ibid.*, pp. 254-255.

183. Compare *CIGC*, Pl. XXXII, 8 with *IG*, Pl. III, 12.

184. Cf. Narain, *IG*, p. 146.

185. See Prashant Srivastava, *JNSI*, Vol.LII, pp. 45-47.

186. See *supra*. The Hermaios - Kalliope coins might be compared with the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type of the Imperial Gupta series. See *infra*. Chapter V.

187. See *CASE*, Part I, pp. 24-25; *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 493; *GBI*, pp. 246, 337; *IG*, pp. 157, 161-162; Lahiri *JNSI*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 73-75.

188. It was the coin-types bearing the name and bust of Agathokleia on the obverse that have helped us in establishing her as the mother of Strato I.

189. Cf. the jugate busts of Heliokles and Laodike on the commemorative medals struck by Eukratides, *infra*, chapter VI.

190. *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 86, Pl. IX, 693; *BMC, GSKBI*, p. 66, Pl. XV, 9, 10; *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 31, Pl.VI, 11, *JNSI*, Vol. VIII, Pt. I, p. 59, Pl. IV, 13.

191. See *JNSI*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 73-74, p. 74, fn. 1.

192. See *CIGC*, Pl. VI, 10.

193. *Ibid.*, Pl. XXVII, 3.

194. *Ibid.*, Pl. XXVI, 10.

195. *Ibid.*, Pl. XXII, 8.

196. *Ibid.*, pp. 140-141, Pl. XXI, 9.

197. *CASE*, p. 94. We shall like to point out that in *CASE*, Part I, p. 25, Cunningham writes that Kalliope was connected "with the Macedonian dynasty of Antialkidas." This mistake has been pointed out by Lahiri

(see *JNSI*, Vol. XXXIX, p.74, fn. 3). But Antialkidas here seems to have been a (printing ?) mistake, and actually Antimachos must have been implied, for on *CASE*, p. 94, Cunningham clearly states that Kalliope was a descendant of Antimachos. The mistake might have crept in due to the similarity in the beginning of the two names *Anti*machos and *Anti*alkidas.

198. Tarn, *GBI*, p. 337.

199. Rapson, *CHI*, Vol. I, pp. 493, 505; Tarn, *GBI*, p. 337; Narain, *IG*, pp. 161-62.

200. *GBI*, p. 337, and fn. 5.

201. The line of Antimachos seems to end with Hippostratos. See *IG*, p. 181, Chart.

202. It may, however, be pointed out that as a suitable coin-type denoting this arrangement could not be conceived, this one type was used over a long period of time, if indeed this state of affairs lasted for a long time.

203. *CIGC*, pp. 140-141, Pl. XXI, 9.

204. *NNM* (American Numismatic Society), No. 82, p. 89.

205. *JNSI*, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 59.

205a. Prashant Srivastava, *BMAUP*, No. 45-46, pp. 81-85.

206. *CASE*, p. 198, Pl. VIII, fig. 4; *BMC,GSKBI*, p. 166, Pl. XXXI, 2; *CIGC*, p. 148, Pl.XXIII, 13.

207. *CHI*, Vol. I, p.504; Tarn, *GBI*, p. 314; Narain, *IG*, p. 102; Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 276. This conclusion is drawn on the basis of the type "pilei of the Dioskuri", characteristic of the family of Eukratides.

208. *BMC,GSKBI*, p. xxxiv.

209. *Ibid.*

210. *Ariana Antiqua*, pp. 268-269.

211. *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 504.

212. *GBI*, p. 314.

213. *IG*, pp. 102, 115-116.

214. Lassen places Lysias after Antialkidas. See *Bactrian and Indo Scythian Coins*, English Translation, p. 131.

215. *NC*, Vol. VIII, 1843, p. 175; *CASE* p. 211.

216. *Taxila*, Vol. I, pp. 36-37. He regards Lysias as the father of Antialkidas.

217. *AIU*, p. 116. He expresses the possibility of Lysias' being the father of Antialkidas. He places Lysias' reign between those of Heliokles and Antialkidas.

218. *CASE* p. 211.

219. *Ibid.*

220. *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 504.

221. *BMC,GSKBI*, p. xxxiv.

222. *GBI*, p. 314.

223. Narain, *IG*, p. 116, and fn. 3, seems to misunderstand Tarn, and says that Tarn takes it as a "joint issue".

224. *GBI*, p. 315.

225. *GBI*, pp. 314-15.

226. *Taxila*, Vol. I, p. 36.

227. *NC*, 1947, pp. 32-33.

228. *IG*, p. 116.

229. *Ibid.*

230. *IG*, p. 117.

231. Marshall, *Taxila*, Vol. I, p. 36.

232. Compare Menander's coin No. 373, *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 54, with Strato I's coin No. 355, *ibid.*, p. 49.

233. Compare Euthydemos I's coin no. 16, *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 12, with Euthydemos II's coin no. 34, *ibid.*, p. 15.

234. *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 54, nos. 373-480 (Menander) and *ibid.* pp.50-51, nos. 360-62, 366-69 (Strato I).

235. *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 59, no. 481, p. 65, no. 515 (Menander) and *ibid.*, p. 49, no. 355, p. 50, no. 359 (Strato I).

236. *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 33, no. 172, Pl. III, 172, and p. 36, no., 212, Pl. IV, 212.

237. *Ibid.*, p. 33, fn. 1.

238. *Ibid.*

239. Lysias is ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΣ and Antialkidas is *Maharaja jayadhara*.

240. The obverse legend is ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΟΥ and the reverse legend is *Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayiliṣasa*. (See *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 132.).

2

JOINT COINS OF THE SCYTHO-PARTHIAN RULERS

Of far greater importance, and interest, are the joint issues of the Scytho-Parthian rulers of India. The normal issues of these Scytho-Parthians give us an idea of the extent of their sway, or to some extent, their approximate dates. But to reconstruct a chronology of the Scytho-Parthian rule in India, their joint issues are our only source material, especially when the coin-legends mention the relationship between the two kings issuing the coins conjointly. When the legends of these joint coins do not mention any relationship between the two rulers issuing the coins conjointly, it is generally supposed that the ruler occupying the obverse side, i.e., the side with the Greek legend, is the father or senior partner of the other ruler occupying the reverse, i.e., the side with the Kharoṣṭhī legend.[1]

The joint coins we propose to study here bear the names of Vonones, Spalahora (Spalyris), Spalagadama, Spalirises, Maues, Azes, Azillises, Orthagnes, Gondophernes, Guḍa, and others. Of these names, Vonones, Orthagnes, and Gondophernes are unmistakenly Parthian, while the names like Spalahora, Spalagadama, Spalirises, Maues, Azes, and Azillises are typically Scythian. However, it is quite clear from their coins that Spalirises, whose name is evidently of Scythian origin, was a brother of

Vonones, a man who is of Parthian origin.[2] Again, on the joint coins of Vonones and Spalahora,[3] the latter is mentioned as *Maharajabhrata*, "king's brother". Sircar[4] states that Spalirises and Spalahora might have been Vonones' "step-brothers by the Scythian wives of his (Parthian)father." As such, Thomas' observation[5] that "It would seem probable that the tribes from eastern Iran who invaded India included diverse elements mingled indistinguishably together, so that it is not possible to assert that one dynasty was definitely Parthian while another was Śaka," seems to be quite logical. Hence we have used the term Scytho-Parthian throughout this study.[6]

We shall now describe the Scytho-Parthian joint issues.

VONONES WITH SPALAHORA

TYPE 1

Obv. : King, holding couched spear, on horseback to r. Gr. legend : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΟΝΩΝΟΥ.

Rev. : Zeus, radiate, standing facing; holding thunderbolt inr. hand; leaning on sceptre in l. hand.*Kh.* legend: *Maharajabhrata dhramikasa Spalahorasa.*[7]

Silver. Round. (Pl. II, 4)

TYPE 2

Obv. : Herakles, standing facing; crowns himself with r. hand; in l. hand, holds club and lion's skin. Gr. legend, as on Type 1.

Rev. : Helmeted Pallas standing to l.; holds shield and spear in l. hand; r. hand raised, holding wreath; sword at the waist. *Kh.* legend, as on Type 1.[8]

Copper. Square. (Pl. II, 5).

On the joint issues of Vonones and Spalahora, the former is given the lofty title of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ and his name occupies the obverse (Greek) side of the coin, while the latter is merely the "King's brother", has no royal title, and his name occupies the less significant reverse (Kharoṣṭhī)side of the coin .[9] As such, Spalahora must have served under his brother, Vonones, as subordinate ruler.[10]

VONONES WITH SPALAGADAMA

TYPE 1

Obv. : King on horse, r.; holding couched spear. Gr. legend : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΟΝΩΝΟΥ.

Rev. : Zeus, radiate, standing facing; thunderbol in r. hand; long sceptre in l. hand. *Kh.* legend: *Spalahora-putrasa dhramikasaSpalagadamasa.*[11]

Silver. Round. (Pl. II, 6).

TYPE 2

Obv. : Herakles, standing facing; crowns himself with r. hand; holds club and lion's skin in l. hand. Gr. legend : as on Type 1

Rev. : Helmeted Pallas standing to l.; holding spear and

shield in l. hand; r. hand extended; sword at the waist. *Kh.* legend, as on Type 1.[12]

Copper. Square. (Pl.II,7).

Just like the joint coins of Vonones and Spalahora, on these joint issues, the name of Vonones, and his imperial titles, occupy the obverse, while the name of Spalagadama, the son of Spalahora,[13] occupies the reverse side of the coin, Spalagadama is described simply as "son of Spalahora", and he is given no royal titles. Hence, he, too, served under Vonones as a subordinate ruler.[14]

SPALYRIS WITH SPALAGADAMA

Obv. : King on horseback, to r.; holding spear. Gr. legend:

СΠ ΑΛΥΡΙΟC ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΒΑCΙΛΕωC.

Rev. : Herakles, naked but diademed, seated to l. on rock; club in r. hand, and resting on knee; l. hand resting on rock on which he is seated. *Kh.* legend: Spalahora-putrasa dhramiasa Spalagadamasa.[15]

Copper. Square.[16] (Pl. II, 8).

It seems that at some stage the father and the son, both were subordinate to Vonones at the same time, for they are known to have issued joint money as subordinate rulers, as seen above here.

We would like to point out that Spalyris is generally taken to be the Greek form of the name Spalahora.[17]

The other thing worth notice on this coin-type is that here, neither Spalyris nor Spalagadama take full royal titles. Spalyris (= Spalahora) is simple "brother of the king" and ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ, while

Spalagadama is "son of Spalahora and *dhramia*. It is, therefore, evident that both Spalyris (= Spalahora) and Spalagadama were subordinate rulers,[18] serving, most probably, under Vonones.

From another coin, we learn of another brother of Vonones, name Spalirises.

Obv. : King, holding couched lance; seated on horseback to r. Gr. legend : ΒΑCΙΛΕωC ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ CΠΑΛΙΡΙCΟΥ.

Rev. : Zeus, radiate, standing facing; holds thunderbolt in r. hand; leans on long sceptre in l. hand. Kh. legend : *Maharajabhrata dhramiasa Spaliriśasa.*[19]

Silver. Round. (Pl. II, 9).

The king mentioned here is generally taken to be Vonones.[20] It seems that Spalirises began his career as a subordinate ruler, serving under his brother, Vonones,[20a] for these coins are certainly satrapal coins. Here, Spalirises is merely "King's brother". He has no title alluding to royalty.

VONONES WITH AZES (?)

A coin in the Indian Museum Collection[21] is of considerable interest. E. Thomas[22] described this coin as "Vonones and Azas, unpublished type; obv. Hercules with club; rev. Panther as in *A.A.*, vii. 8, but in the reverse direction, in fair order." Cunningham, following Thomas, ascribed this coin jointly to Vonones and Azes, and described it as follows : "Herakles standing to front, l. hand holding club, r. hand on hip.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΟΝΩΝ ΟΥ

Rev. : *Maneless lion* walking to l. Mon. No. 2 Arian legend, *Rajadirajasa Mahatasa Ayasa*."[23] (Pl. III, 1).

He, therefore, regards Vonones as the supreme sovereign of Azes.

Smith is, however, of the view that the attribution suggested by Thomas and Cunningham is erroneous,[24] and ascribes this coin to Maues.[25] According to him, Rapson, too, regards it as an issue of Maues, similar to the *British Museum Catalogue of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India*, Pl. XVI, 5. Smith says, "the imaginary association of Azes I with Vonones ... disappears from history." Whitehead agrees with the view of Smith.[26] B.N. Mukherjee, too, regards this as a mistake committed by Cunningham, and supports Smith's attribution of this coin to Maues.[27]

Interestingly, Herzfeld[28] mentioned this coins as a joint issue of Vonones and Azes. Commenting on this, Tarn says[29] that this coin "cannot show that Vonones was Azes' suzerain, for Azes' title Great King of Kings forbids the supposition.[30] I do not know where, or what, the coin is, but it naturally suggests a coin overstruck by Azes at a later date."

But we think that in view of the above discussion, Tarn's opinion that this coin is an overstrike, is untenable, as is also the attribution of this coin to Vonones and Azes together, proposed by Thomas and Cunningham. The coin has to be attributed to Maues, and hence, Cunningham's statement on this basis that Azes "acknowledged the supremacy of Vonones"[31] does not appear to be acceptable.

SPALIRISES WITH AZES

TYPE 1

Obv. : King on horseback to r.; holds couched lance. Gr. legend :

ΒΑCΙΛΕωC ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ CΠ ΑΛΙΡΙCΟΥ.[32]

Rev. : Zeus, radiate, standing facing front; leans on long sceptre, which is held in l. hand; thunderbolt in r. hand. Kh. legend : *Maharajasa mahatakasa Ayasa.*[33]

Silver. Round. (Pl. III, 2).

It may be remarked here that neither Spalirises, nor Azes I, uses the title of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ, "king of kings", implying supreme royal status, on this coin.[34] As such, there might be some truth in the suggestion[35] that these joint coins were struck probably in the life-time of Vonones, when both Spalirises and Azes I were subordinate rulers, "both of them bearing the subordinate or viceragal title 'Great King'."[36]

Marshall is, however, of the opinion that by assuming the title of "Great King", and sharing it with Azes I, Spalirises was "announcing the fact that Vonones' overlordship was at an end."[37] In our view, a more sober stand will be that Spalirises had not thrown off the yoke of Vonones' supremacy altogether, but had become bold enough to assume the title of "Great King". This step was indeed of great significance, for neither Spalahora nor Spalagadama, the viceroys of Vonones, had assumed the title of "King" let alone of "Great King".

TYPE 2

Obv. : King on horse back to r.; whip over shoulder; aṅkuśa in hand. Gr. legend, as on Type 1.

Rev. : Bow and arrow to r. *Kh.* legend, as on Type 1.[38]

Copper. Round. (Pl. III, 3).

The *Aya* of the reverse of these coins is taken as Azes I, with the exception of Rapson, who identifies this *Aya* with Azes II.[39] We shall return to this point later.[40]

MACHENES WITH MAUES

Maues was one of the greatest Scytho-Parthian rulers, whose coins seem to be concentrated mostly in North-western India. Quite recently, a coin struck by Maues conjointly with a female named Machenes, has come to light.[41]

Obv. : Enthroned female sitting to r.; sceptre (?) in l. hand; r. hand extended to r. Gr. legend : ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΥ ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΣ ΜΑΧΗΝΗΣ (in exergue).

Rev. : Zeus standing to l.; sceptre in l. hand; Nike on outstretched r. hand; *Kh.* legend : *Rajatirajasa mahatasa Moasa.*[41a]

Silver. Round. (Pl. III, 4).

The female figure on the obverse might be that of Machenes herself, or that of some goddess. This goddess might be the Lunar deity, who figures on the obverse of some coins of Maues.[42] If the figure is not that of Machenes, it is most likely to be that of the Lunar goddess, for B.N. Mukherjee sees in the name of the queen a probable reference to the moon.[43]

Who was this Machenes ? That at the time of the issue of the joint coin, she held a position superior to that of Maues in the administration, seems evident from the occurrence of her name in Greek on the obverse. G. Le Rider regards her as the wife of Maues.[44] However, as pointed out by B.N. Mukherjee, "mere marital relationship with Maues would not have necessitated the appearance of the name of queen (without being accompanied by

that of her husband) in the Greek coin-legend."[45] Of course, such would probably have been the case if we presume that Machenes was a queen in her own right, and that Maues was a commoner, who had become king only after marrying Machenes. But we have no evidence to show that this had been the case.

In our view, the occurrence of the name of Machenes in Greek on the obverse side of the coin can conveniently be explained by presuming that she was the mother of Maues, who had taken up the reins of government in her own hands after the death of her husband, because her son was still a minor at the time of the death of his father.[46] We have seen a similar case in the coins struck conjointly by the Indo-Greek sovereign Agathokleia and Strato I,[47] which were issued at a time when Agathokleia was acting as a regent after the death of her husband, Menander, while her son, Strato I, was a minor. Interestingly, the observe legend on this Scytho-Parthian joint coin is exactly the same as the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΥ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ occurring on the obverse of some of the joint coins of Agathokleia and Strato I.[48]

B.N. Mukherjee, on the basis of the square forms of omicron and sigma occurring in the Greek legend of the joint issue of Machenes and Maues, suggests that this coin may be dated in the closing years of the reign of Maues, or even after his death, and regards Machenes as a queen of post-Maues period.[49] However, to us, the square forms of the Greek letters do not seem to be a convincing evidence to date the coins precisely.[50] Moreover, as the hoard in which the present coin was found contains the coins of Vonones with Spalahora, and of Maues alone, and no coins of Azes I, who is known to have succeeded Maues,[51] we would like to place this joint coin in the initial years of the reign of Maues, when he was a minor, and his mother governed the kingdom on his

behalf as queen-regent.

AZES I WITH AZILISES

Azes I is know to have issued coins in association with Azilises, who is generally supposed to be a son of Azes I.[52]

Obv. : King on horseback to r.; holds couched lance. Gr.legend : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΟΥ.

Rev. : Goddess standing to l.; lamp (or brazier) in r. hand; filleted palm in l. hand. *Kh.* legend : *Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayiliṣasa.*[53]

Silver. Round. (Pl. III, 5)

It must be remarked here that the identity of the goddess on the reverse side of this coin is very uncertain. H. H. Wilson identifies her with Victory, while Gardner suggests her identification with a city-deity. Cunningham hestitatingly suggests that this deity might be Demeter, or Tyche.[54]

From these coins, it is quite clear that probably towards the close of his reign, Azes I reigned in association with Azilises[55].

AZILISES WITH AZES II

Azilises, in his turn, struck coins in association with Azes II, in all probability, his son.[56]

TYPE 1

Obv. : King on horseback to r.; holds spear. Gr. legend :

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΙΛΙΣΟΥ

Rev. : Pallas hurling thunderbolt; stands to l.; shield on l. arm. *Kh*, legend : *Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa.*[57]

Silver. Round. (Pl. III, 6).

TYPE 2

Obv. : King mounted on horse to r.; holds whip (bow[58] ?). Gr. legend : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ.....ΜΗΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΛΙΣΟΥ

Rev. : Diademed Zeus Nikephoros, standing facing l.; long sceptre in hand. *Kh.* legend : *Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa.*[59]

Silver. Round. (Pl. III, 7).

TYPE 3

Obv. : Herakles standing facing; crowns himself with r. hand; club and lion's skin in l. hand. Gr. legend on three sides : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΙΛΙΣΟΥ.

Rev. : Horse walking r. *Kh.* legend on three sides : *Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa.*[60]

Copper. Rectangular. (Pl. III, 8).

Just like his father, Azes, I, Asilises, probably during his last years,[61] associated in government his son, Azes II,[62] as can be seen from these coin-types.

We would, at the cost of repetition, restate the evidence and the inference. From the fact that on some coins, the name of Azes occurs in Greek on the obverse, and that of Azilises (Ayiliṣa) in Kharoṣṭhī on the reverse,[63] and on other coins, the order is reversed,[64] it has been conjectured that were two kings bearing the name of Azes. Of these the elder Azes, or Azes I, associated in government his son Azilises, and that the latter, towards the close of his own reign, associated in government his own son, the

younger Azes, i.e., Azes II.[65]

The theory of the existence of two Azes was strongly opposed by Whitehead[65a] and Altekar.[66] A. Simonetta has, however, criticised the view of Altekar, and supported the existence of two Azes.[67] Whitehead is of the opinion that as the "best didrachms of Azes compare unfavourably with the fine silver coins of Azilises", Azilises might have preceded Azes, and if so, then "we must have Azilises I and Azilises II, instead of Azes I and Azes II."[68] However, the coins of Azilises do not show any great difference in style and execution, and cannot be regarded as the issues of two rulers. On the contrary, the coins bearing the name of Azes show great divergence as regards the style and execution. Some Azes coins, having "King mounted with spear" obverse are well executed, and are of better metal than those Azes coins having "King mounted with whip" obverse, which are of debased metal.[69] This difference in style, execution, and metallic contents of the Azes coins is taken by Rapson as an evidence of the existence of two Azes.[70] The better coins have been attributed to Azes I, and the baser ones to Azes II.[71] The latter group is also linked by its types to the issues of Gondophernes and his associated rulers, who are supposed to have followed Azes II. Jenkins has given several examples of this fact.[72] The Zeus Nikephoros type of Azes II[73] was copied by Sasan.[74] The Pallas to right type of Azes II[75] was copied by Aśpavarman[76] and Gondophernes[77]. The Poseidon type of Azes II[78] was copied from those of Gondophernes.[79]

Sten Konow was earlier of the view that there was only one Azes,[80] but later, he accepted the theory of the existence of two Azes.[81] The stratified evidence of the Azes coins from Takṣaśilā also supports the existence of two kings bearing the name of Azes[82]. The occurrence of the early form of the Kharoṣṭhī *sa* on

the coins of Azes found in the lower strata, when compared with the occurrence of the later form of the same letter in the Azes coins from the upper strata, also indicates the existence of two Azes.[83] Moreover, the coins of Azilises themselves show no debasement. So the debased Azes coins cannot be placed before him.[84]

It may also be suggested that there was only one king named Azes, who ruled twice, with quite a long interval between the two phases of his reign, and during this interval, Azilises was reigning as the supreme monarch with Azes as his junior co-ruler. It might have been that Azes had associated in government a person named Azilises, who later usurped power, and removed Azes to the position of a junior co-ruler, while he himself became the supreme ruler. After an interval of several years,[85] Azes, either after the death of Azilises or after dethroning him, again emerged as the supreme monarch. This might account for the great diversity in style and execution of the coins bearing the name of Azes. The debasement in the metal of the coin might have been due to financial difficulties that Azes had to face in the second phase of his reign, for the struggle against Azilises must have affected the treasury.[86] The well executed Azes coins were found in the earlier strata at Takṣaśilā because they belonged to the earlier phase of his reign, while the crude and debased coins of Azes were found in the later strata there because they belonged to the later phase of his rule. This would explain the difference in the form of the Kharoṣṭhī letter *sa* on the coins of Azes found in different strata.

But there are two difficulties in accepting this theory. The theory, if accepted, would necessitate an exceptionally long life-span for Azes to accommodate the two phases of his reign along

with the long reign of Azilises in the interval between the two phases of Azes' rule. Moreover, it is less likely that a person (Azilises), who had dethroned his own overlord (Azes), and occupied the position of supreme sovereign, would permit the latter, who could prove a constant source of danger to his position, to exist, and that too, as a co-ruler.[87]

Thus, the most logical view seems to be that there were two kings bearing the name of Azes, viz., Azes I and Azes II, who ruled before and after Azilises, respectively.

AZES II WITH INDRAVARMAN

Azes II, after becoming king, is not known to have struck any coins conjointly with any of his relatives. But he struck some coins with an Itravarman (Indravarman), son of Vijayamitra.

Obv. : King on horse to r. Quite illegible Gr. legend.

Rev. : Armed Pallas standing to r.; wields spear and shield in l. hand; r. hand extended. Star and "Buddhist symbol" to l. *Kh.* legend : *Vijayamitraputrasa Itravarmasa apracharajasa.*[88]

Copper. Round. (Pl. III, 9, 10).

That this Itravarman is the same as Indravarman, the father of Strategos Aśpavarman who later issued coins in conjunction with Azes II,[89] is beyond doubt.[90] According to B.N. Mukherjee,[91] traces of the word Azzou (Azzaou Azou), i.e., "of Azes", may be read in the obverse Greek legend on at least two coins bearing the name of Indravarman on the reverse.[92] This Azes must be Azes II, as is evident from the obverse device.[93]

Thus, following B.N. Mukherjee's reading of the name of Azes II on the obverse, Azes II must have issued coins in

association with Indravarman, and then with his son, Aśpavarman, probably after the death of Indravarman. Indravarman must have served under Azes II as a subordinate ruler,[94] and was followed by his son.

AZES II WITH AŚPAVARMAN

Obv. : King seated on horse to r.; holds whip; bow behind back to r. Gr. legend : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΟΥ

Rev. : Armed Pallas standing to r.; holds spear, and shield in l. hand; r. hand extended; star and symbol. *Kh.* legend : *Indravarmaputrasa Aśpavarmasa Strategasa jayatasa.*[95]

Copper. Round. (Pl. IV, 1).

From these coins, it becomes evident that Azes II first had under him Indravarman, and then the latter's son, Aśpavarman.[96] While we do not know exactly what office Indravarman held under Azes II, on his coins, Aśpavarman is explicitly mentioned as Stratega (Greek Strategos), i.e., the commander-in-chief of the Imperial forces. Aśpavarman is the only strategos known so far from coins.[97]

ORTHAGNES WITH GONDOPHERNES AND GUḌA

Another king of Parthian origin is Gondophernes. He struck several joint coins in association with Orthagnes, Guḍa, Aśpavarman, Sasan, Sapedana, and Satavastra.

On some coins, the name of Orthagnes appears on the obverse, and the names of Gondophernes and Guḍa together on the reverse, showing that Orthagnes, whose name occupies the obverse or the more important side, was the reigning sovereign, and that

Gondophernes and Guḍa, who are mentioned on the reverse side of the coin, occupied a subordinate or viceregal position in his administration. It is rather surprising that how it could have been suggested that Orthagnes was a successor of Gondophernes.[98]

TYPE 1

Obv. : Diademed bust of king, to l. Gr. legend : BACIΛEYC BACIΛEWN MEΓAC OPΘAΓNHC.

Rev. : Nike, holding palm and wreath; stands to r. *Kh.* legend : *Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Gudapharasa Gadana.*[99]

Copper. Round.

TYPE 2

Obv. : As the obverse of Type 1.

Rev. : As the reverse of Type 1, but *Kh.* legend : *Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Guḍapharasa Gada.*[100]

Copper. Round. (Pl. IV, 2).

TYPE 3

Obv. : As the obverse of Type 1.

Rev. : As the reverse of Type 1, but *Kh.* legend : *Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Gudapharasa Gadanasa.*[101]

Copper. Round.

TYPE 4

Obv. : As the obverse of Type 1, but Gr. legend : BACIΛEYC BACIΛEWN MEΓAC OPΘAΓN

Rev. : As the reverse of Type 3.[102]

Copper. Round.

TYPE 5

Obv. : As the obverse of Type 1, but *Gr.* legend : ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC ΒΑCΙΛΕWΝ ΜΕΓΑC ΟΡΘΑΓΝ.

Rev. : As the reverse of Type 1, but *Kh.* legend : *Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Gudapharasa Gadana.*[103]

Copper. Round.

It must be remarked here that we have several variants of the names of both Gondophernes and Guḍa in the reverse legends of the various coins of this series. Gudaphara has been written as Gudavhara, and Guduphara. Guḍa, likewise has been seen written as Gadana, Gada, Gaḍa, Guḍa, Guḍana, Gudana, Gaḍaṇa, Gudana.[104]

It is seen that except in Type 3 of these coins, the name of Guḍa is always in the nominative. Also, on all these coin-types, the titles on the reverse are in genitive singular, and qualify only Gondophernes, as his name appears immediately after these titles. As such, Guḍa is given no title on these coins. From this, it can be surmised that Gondophernes was associated with Orthagnes as viceroy, and that Guḍa was junior to Gondophernes in administration.[105]

ORTHAGNES WITH GONDOPHERNES ALONE (?)

Only one coin-type, believed to have been issued by orthagnes with Gondophernes alone, is known so far. Here, too, the name of Orthagnes occupies the obverse side, and that of Gondophernes, the reverse side.

Obv. : Diademed bust of king l.; wears torquis. Gr. legend:

BACIΛEYC BACIΛEWN MEΓAC OPΘAΓNHC.

Rev. : Nike with wreath and palm, to r. Kh. legend : *Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Gudaphara sagaba.*[106]

Copper. Round. (Pl. IV, 3).

The Kharoṣṭhī legend on the reverse of this coin-type is based on the reading of Cunningham. *Sagaba* he takes to mean *Sagarbha* (=Brother). It could, however, be *Gudapharasa Gada.* If so, this coin is not a joint issue of Orthagnes with Gondophernes alone, but of Orthagnes with Gondophernes and Guḍa together. It must be pointed out that the Kharoṣṭhī letter *ba* is quite similar to the Kharoṣṭhī letter *da.*[106a] Moreover the titles of Gondophernes are in the genetive (*sa*), but if we accept Cunningham's reading, the name of Gondophernes is in the nominative. However, if we read this legend as *Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Gudapharasa Gada*, the whole legend pertaining to Gondophernes becomes in the genitive, and conforms to the Kharoṣṭhī legend on Type 2 of the joint coins of Orthagnes with Gondophernes and Guḍa. This reading seems to us more convincing. As such, we have no joint issues of Orthagnes with Gondophernes alone.

GONDOPHERNES WITH AŚPAVARMAN

It is interesting to note that Aśpavarman, who served under Azes II as strategos,[107] also served under Gondophernes in the same capacity, as is evident from their joint issues.

Obv. : King on horseback facing l.; r. hand extended. Gondophernes symbol in front of horse. Corrupt and only partly legible Gr. legend, mentioning

Gondophernes.[108]

Rev. : Zeus, standing facing r.; r. hand extended; in l. hand holds a long sceptre. *Kh.* legend : *Jayatasa tratarasa* (r.) *Indravarmaputrasa* (l.) *Strategasa* (above) *Aśpavarmasa* (below).[109]

Billon. Round. (Pl. IV, 4).

That Gondophernes succeeded Azes II is clear from these coins, for Aśpavarman is seen to have served first under Azes II, and then under Gondophernes.[110] Gondophernes seems to have dissociated himself from Orthagnes in the lifetime of the latter, after succeeding Azes II. After this dissociation, Orthagnes seems to have conferred the viceroyalty of Arachosia, where Gondophernes had previously been ruling together with Guḍa as the viceroy of Orthagnes, upon Guḍa alone, for we have coins bearing the name of Orthagnes on the obverse, and that of Guḍa alone on the reverse.[112]

ORTHAGNES WITH GUḌA ALONE

Obv. : Diademed bust of king to l. Gr. legend : [BACIΛEWC BACIΛEWN] MEΓAΛOY OPΘAΓN[HC]

Rev. : Nike, holding palm and wreath; stands to r. *Kh.* legend : *Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Gadranasa.*[113]

Copper. Round.

GONDOPHERNES WITH GUḌA

Gondophernes issued coins in association with Guḍa also.

Obv. : Diademed bust of king to l. Gr. legend :

ΒΑΣΙΛΕWΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕWΝ [ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ] ΙΝ-ΔΥφ(Ε) ΡΡΟΥ

Rev. : Nike, standing facing r. *Kh.* legend : *Maharajasa Gadana nisadasa hinaṣa vanidasa javati devavrata.*[114]

Copper. Round.

The royal titles of Gondophernes in the obverse legend show that he was the supreme sovereign at this time.[115] These coins make it clear that although after Gondophernes had dissociated himself from the administration of Orthagnes, Guḍa had taken over as the viceroy of Orthagnes in Arachosia, after some time, perhaps after the death of Orthagnes, he seems to have transferred his loyalty from Orthagnes to Gondophernes.[116]

GONDOPHERNES WITH SASAN

Joint issues of Gondophernes and Sasan are also known.

TYPE 1

Obv. : Diademed king on horseback to l.; Gondophernes symbol in field. Corrupt and meaningless Gr. legend.

Rev. : Bearded and partly naked Zeus standing facing r.; r. hand raised; in l. hand, a long sceptre. *Kh.* legend: *[Rayara]-yasa Apratihatachakrasa Devavratasa Sasasa* (only traces of the last word visible).[117]

Copper. Round. (Pl. IV, 5).

TYPE 2

Obv. : King on horseback to r.; r. arm extended. Corrupt

and illegible Gr. legend.

Rev. : Zeus Nikephoros standing facing l. *Kh*. legend: *Maharajasa rajatirajasa devavratasa Gudupharasa Sasasa.*[118]

Billon. Round. (Pl. IV, 6).

TYPE 3

Obv. : As the obverse of Type 2. Jumbled Gr. legend : " ΛΙΙΛWINN ΙΣΙΙΙVIV"

Rev. : Zeus standing facing r.; r. hand extended. *Kh. legend : "Maharajasa Mahatasa Tradatasa Devahadasa Gadapharasa Sasasa*".[119]

Copper. Round. (Pl. IV, 7).

Smith is of the opinion that Sasasa on these coins is an epithet.[120] Gardner does not discuss it. Cunningham regards it as a name.[121] Whitehead,[122] too, seems to be inclined to take the term as a name.

This Sasan was a nephew of Aśpavarman, for on some coins, he is referred to as "son of the brother of Aśpa [varman]". [122a] He appears to have succeeded Aśpavarman. But as he is not known to have assumed the title of *strategos*, we are not certain as to what office he held under Gondophernes.[123] But that he served under Gondophernes and then, under Pakores, is certain.[124]

TYPE 4

Obv. : As the obverse of Type 2. *Gr*. legend: "BACIΛEYO...ACOY".[125]

Rev. : Zeus Nikephoros standing facing front. *Kh*. legend: *"Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa dhramikasa Gudupharasa Sasasa"*.[126]

Copper. Round. (Pl. IV, 8).

On this coin-type, the name of Sasan occurs on the obverse also, probably with that of Gondophernes. This shows that Sasan was becoming powerful and bold enough to introduce his own name with that of Gondophernes on the obverse.

GONDOPHERNES WITH ABDAGASES (?)

Rapson considers the following coin-type as suggesting that Gondophernes struck coins conjointly with his nephew, Abdagases.[127]

Obv. : King on horseback to l.; Gondophernes symbol. Gr. legend: [ΓΥ]ΝΔΙΦΕΡΟ ΑΔΕΛΦΙ [ΔΕωC]

Rev. : Zeus standing facing r. *Kh.* legend: *Gudapharabhrata-putrasa maharajasa tratarasa Avadagasasa.*[128]

Silver. Round. (Pl. IV, 9).

Rapson says that Abdagases uses no imperial title on this coin, and hence, this coin should refer to his subordinate rule under Gondophernes.[129]

This coin, however, does not seem to be a joint issue. The coin legends - obverse and reverse - only mention and indicate the relationship that existed between Gondophernes and Abdagases.[130] Rapson, however, seems to be right in suggesting that Abdagases struck these coins while ruling as a subordinate of Gondophernes, for he has assumed no imperial titles on this coin.[131] He is only *Maharaja* and *tratara*.[132] It must also be remarked that Gondophernes, too, has been given no title, imperial or otherwise, on this coin-type.[133] The coins on which Abdagases is given the imperial titles of *Maharaja rajatiraja*,[134] might have been struck after the death of Gondophernes. But here, too, he is "nephew of

Gondophernes". He seems to have taken pride in proclaiming this relationship.

GONDOPHERNES SYMBOL WITH SAPEDANA

Gondophernes is also known from some coins discovered at Takṣaśilā to be associated with his governors, Sapedana and Satavastra.

TYPE 1

Obv.	:	Bust of king to l., displaying diadem and beard; Gondophernes symbol in l. field. Corrupt Gr. legend : "... HAΩN BACIΛH..."
Rev.	:	Nike standing to l.; wreath and palm branch in hand. *Kh.* legend : *Rajarajasa tratarasa dhramiasa Sapedanasa* (in exergue).[135]

Silver. Round. (Pl. V, 1).

According to Rapson,[136] the portrait on the obverse of this coin is that of Gondophernes. Marshall,[137] however, points out that the portraits on the coins of Sapedana, as also on those of Saṭavastra,[138] bear no resemblance to the known portraits of Gondophernes as seen on his own coins, nor do they resemble each other. As such, the portraits given on the coins of Sapedana and Satavastra must be regarded as the portraits of the respective princes themselves. An examination of the photographs of the coins [139] makes us to subscribe to the view of Marshall. The peculiar symbol of Gondophernes, seen on the coins of both Sapedana and Satavastra, however, leaves little doubt regarding the connection of these two princes with Gondophernes or his successors.[140] But could the occurrence of the Gondophernes symbol alone with the names of Sapedana and of Satavastra make these coins joint issues?

As pointed out by Rapson,[141] the title of "King of Kings" assumed by Sapedana is "only one degree inferior to the most lofty title assumed by Gondophernes, *viz.*, 'Great King, Supreme King of Kings',"[142] thus showing that Sapedana acknowledged the suzerainty of Gondophernes merely nominally.[143]

TYPE 2

Obv. : Bust of king to l.; wearing headdress. Gr. legend illegible. Gondophernes symbol in l. field.

Rev. : As the reverse of Type 1. *Kh.* legend blurred.[144]

Silver. Round. (Pl. V, 2).

Marshall remarks that the portrait given on this coin is different from the one given on our Type 1.[145] B.N. Mukherjee,[146] however, ascribes this coin to Gondophernes. Whitehead seems to read the name on the reverse of this coins as Aga ... (?).[147]

GONDOPHERNES SYMBOL WITH SATAVASTRA

Satavastra is seen to assume the title of "Great King" only.

Obv. : Bust of king to l.; displaying short beard. Gondophernes symbol in l. field. Corrupt *Gr.* legend : "ΩCCAYOA..."

Rev. : Nike standing to r.; holds wreath and palm branch. *Kh.* legend : "*...rasa Satavastrasa Maharajasa.*"[148]

Silver. Round. (Pl. V, 3).

Satavastra, too, seems to be practically independent, and to have acknowledged the suzerainty of Gondophernes only nominally.[149]

PAKORES WITH SASAN (?)

Pakores, believed to be a successor of Gondophernes,

appears to have issued coins in association with Sasan, for the portrait on the coins bearing the Gondophernes symbol on the obverse, and the name of Sasan on the reverse, is believed to be that of Pakores.[150] Marshall, however, remarks that the portrait is that of Sasan himself.[151]

Obv. : Bearded bust of king to l.; wears crown bearing Gondophernes symbol. Same symbol visible in l. field also. Corrupt Gr. legend: "N... CHOH.....CIΛ..".

Rev. : Nike standing to 1.; wreath in outstreched r. hand; plam branch in 1 hand. *Kh.* legend: *Maharajasa Aśpabhataputrasa tratarasa Sasasa.*[152]

Silver. Round. (Pl. V,4).

If Marshall's identification of the portrait on this coin with that of Sasan himself is correct, we have no evidence of any coin struck conjointly by Pakores and Sasan. He, however, admits that these coins may have been issued by Sasan in the reign of Pakores.[153] Therefore, according to Marshall, Sasan first served under Gondophernes, under whom his uncle, Aśpavarman, had also served as strategos, and then under Pakores, a successor of Gondophernes.

Later, either during the lifetime of Pakores, or after his death, Sasan seems to have asserted independence, and emerged as supreme ruler, as is evident from some coins struck by him.

Obv. : King mounted on horse. Illegible Gr. legend.

Rev. : Zeus, standing; sceptre in hand. *Kh.* legend : *Maharajasa...vasa apratihatachakrasa devavratasa Sasasa.*[154]

On the basis of the reverse legend, Whitehead suggests that at the time of the issue of this coin, Sasan was the sole and supreme monarch.[155] The independent rule of Sasan seems to have been very short, and lasted no more than a few months.[156]

We shall now attempt to reconstruct the chronology of the Scytho-Parthians primarily on the basis of these joint issues.

There are reasons to believe that Mithradates I of Parthia was successful in annexing Arachosia and the lower Indus regions.[157] The Parthian rule, however, did not last long,[158] thus leading to the establishment of independent or quasi-independent states in this Indian borderland.

The earliest Scytho-Parthian ruler of the former easternmost part of the Parthian empire was Vonones. The antecedents of Vonones are not known. Cunningham had put forth the theory that Vonones was a lieutenant of Maues, the leader of the Śakas, left behind in Seistan to govern the region when Maues himself pushed forward from Seistan into India. Later, either Maues himself installed Vonones as the king of Seistan, or Vonones rebelled against Maues, and declared himself the supreme sovereign in Seistan.[159]

Tarn is of the opinion that Vonones was "the Suren, or rather the ruler of the Suren's realm, for the time being".[160] He says that the Suren who had won the battle of Carrhae for the Parthian emperor Orodes II, had been executed at the order of the emperor, and that Vonones was either a kinsman of the Suren given the charge of the East, or an usurper.[161] Thus, Tarn regards Vonones as a vassal of the Parthian emperor Orodes II. Later, he asserted independence, and assumed the title of"Great King of Kings".[162] A similar view has been expressed by A Simonetta.[163]

B.N. Mukherjee is of the opinion that it is possible that Vonones' family had come to Arachosia during one of the Arsakid invasions, and that Vonones himself, and his ancestors, had probably served under the Arsakids. But, if Vonones was ever a vassal of the Arsakids, at some stage of his career, he had shaken off the yoke of Arsakid supremacy, for at the time of the striking of these pieces, he was the sole sovereign, as is evident from his titles ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ.[164]

Cunningham[165] suggests that Vonones, after the death of Maues, remained in Seistan, and governed the eastern parts of his dominions through viceroys.[166] B.N. Mukherjee is, however, of the opinion that while the rule of Vonones and his associates in Arachosia is certain, "the theory of their presence in Seistan and some other localities is not proved either by their coin-types or by the discovery of a large number of their coins in each of these areas or by any other reliable source."[167] He also suggests that Arachosia was the "chief centre of rule" of the family of Vonones, a fact supported by the contents of coin-hoards from Chaman (near Kandahar) and Mir-Zakah (near Ghazni).[168]

No coin bearing the name of Vonones alone has been discovered so far.[168a] However, his name occupies the place of honour on the coins of Spalahora[168b] and Spalagadama.[169] As seen earlier,[170] both Spalahora and Spalagadama bear no royal titles on these coins, and hence, must have ruled as viceroys of Vonones. From the use of Kharoṣṭhī script on the reverse side of the coins of both Spalahora and Spalagadama struck in association with Vonones, it can be inferred that they ruled over Arachosia, the region to which the use of this script was confined.[171]

That at some stage in their career, both Spalahora and Spalagadama ruled conjointly as subordinate rulers under Vonones

is proved by the discovery of the joint issues bearing the name of Spalyris (= Spalahora) on the obverse, and that of spalagadama on the reverse.[172]

On the coins bearing the name of Spalahora, he is described as *Maharajabhrata*[173] and ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ[174], i.e., "brother of the king". On this basis, Rapson,[175] and several other scholars regard Spalahora as the brother of Vonones, and the former's son, Spalagadama, as the nephew of Vonones.

Tarn is, however, of the opinion that neither Spalahora nor Spalagadama, were actually related to Vonones, as he was a Parthian, and Spalahora and Spalagadama, Scythians. He says that Spalahora used the title of "King's brother" as a title of honour, a title which had long been in use in the Hellenistic courts, and had been adopted from there by the Parthians.[176] Marshall supports the view of Tarn[177] as regards the real implication of this title of "King's brother."

However, as stated earlier,[178] Sircar seems to be right in suggesting that Spalahora and Spalirises might have been step-brothers of Vonones, the sons of Vonones' Parthian father through Scythian wives.[179] As such, the title of "brother of the king" might not have been merely an honorific title, but actually implied that Spalahora and Spalirises were brothers of Vonones.

Another brother of Vonones, i.e., Spalirises, also served under him in the capacity of a subordinate ruler, for we have certain satrapal coins of Spalirises, referring to him as "brother of the king", without giving any royal title to Spalirises.[180] Just like his brother Spalahora, Spalirises, too, at one stage in his career, ruled conjointly with his son, Azes I,[181] both serving under Vonones, the Great King of Kings, as subordinate rulers. This fact is

vouched for by the joint issues bearing the name of Spalirises on the obverse, and that of Azes on the reverse.[182]

A. Simonetta, however, regards Spalyris and Spalirises as vassals of Maues.[183] He arrives at this conclusion because of (a) the description of Spalyris as the borther of the king on the joint issues of Spalyris and Spalagadama, (b) the absence of Vonones' name from the legends on this coin-type, (c) the identity of this coin-type with some types of bronze issues of Azes I and of Azilises, and (d) the description of Spalirises as brother of a king. "These arguments," as B.N. Mukherjee points out, "are hardly convincing."[184] First, the name of the overlord is not always mentioned on the coins of his subordinate rulers.[185] Secondly, if the name of Vonones is not mentioned on these coins, the name of Maues, too, is absent from the coin-legends. Thirdly, the similarity of this coin-type with the types of Azes I and of Azilises is no positive proof of the identity of the "king" mentioned on the coins of Spalyris and Spalagadama with Maues.[186] And lastly, on the joint issues of Vonones and Spalahora,[187] and of Vonones and Spalagadama, the overlord is most certainly Vonones himself. Therefore, there can be no doubt that both Spalyris and Spalirises were vassals of Vonones.

As no coin bearing the name of Vonones alone has come to light so far, it seems that he did not have a very long reign as the supreme sovereign, and his brother, Spalirises succeeded him as "Great King of Kings".[188]

That this succession was not a peaceful one, seems to be proved by some overstruck coins. One type of copper coins of Spalirises as the "Great King of Kings" is found overstruck on a joint issue of Vonones and Spalahora (or Spalagadama),[189] and

also on a joint issue of Spalyris and Spalagadama.[190] The overstriking of these coins of Vonones, and of his subordinate rulers, Spalahora and Spalagadama, by Spalirises seems to indicate that Vonones was probably overthrown by his brother, Spalirises, who also removed from power Spalahora and Spalagadama, who seem to have remained loyal to the cause of Vonones even after the usurpation of his throne by Spalirises.[191]

We see Spalirises as supreme sovereign in Arachosia. His son Azes I is, however, known to have succeeded not Spalirises in Arachosia, but Maues in India,[192] for his coins have been found in large numbers in the Punjab, and are very scarce in Arachosia.[193] Smith suggests that perhaps after the death of Spalirises, Mithradates II, the Parthian emperor, suppressed the independence, or semi-independence, of the Scytho-Parthians, and deprived of Arachosia, Azes I succeeded Maues in India.[194] We, however, wish to suggest that probably the rule of Spalirises, who had in his veins Scythian blood mixed with the Parthian,[195] was resented by the people of Arachosia, even more so because he had usurped the throne from Vonones, who appears to have been of pure Parthian blood, and some Parthian of pure blood, probably some ancestor of Orthagnes, or Orthagnes himself, overthrew Spalirises in Arachosia.[196] Azes, forced by these hostile circumstances, was obliged to leave Arachosia,and come to India, where he established his own empire after Maues. These Indian territories might have passed from Maues to Azes I peacefully, or he might have had to wrest them from Maues, or one of his successors, i.e., if Sten Konow's assumption that Azes I came to power a few years after the death of Maues, is correct.

To us, it seems to be more likely that Azes I seized the Indian territories from Maues himself, because the coins of

Maues, we believe, show a decline in the power of this ruler towards the end of his reign. Earlier, it was believed that the coins of Maues bearing the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΑΥΟΥ[197] belong to the initial years of his reign, when he was perhaps a feudatory of the Great King of Kings in Arachosia, and that later he asserted his independence, his independent status being depicted by his coins bearing the legends ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΜΑΥΟΥ, and *Rajatirajasa mahatasa Moasa.*[198]

sw However, with the discovery of the coin of Maues struck in association with his mother, Machenes,[199] it has become known that Maues was "Great King of Kings" even during his minority. To us, it seems that towards the end of his reign, Maues had to face the invasion of Azes I, who had had to flee from Arachosia following the overthrow of his father, Spalirises.[200] Azes I seems to have emerged as the Victor in this struggle with Maues, and to have allowed Maues to rule for some time as a subordinate ruler. It was during this period of subordinate rule that Maues issued the coins with the subordinate title of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ only.

Rapson is of the opinion that Vonones was a contemporary of Azes I and Azilises,[201] and that the Azes who has been found to be associated with Spalirises on their joint issues was Azes II.[202] This is, however, not possible. The Azes on the joint coins of Spalirises and Azes has to be identified with Azes I. The most important evidence supporting this identification has been provided by two overstrikings. Jenkins[203] has shown that a type of Azilises (King mounted, with spear : Lamp Goddess) is overstruck on a type of Spalirises as king (King mounted, with spear : Zeus) and also on a type of Azes [204] (King mounted, with spear : Zeus). These overstrikings prove that Azilises was preceded by both Spalirises

and Azes I. Hence, the Azes associated with Spalirises has to be identified as Azes I.

Then again, as Marshall points out,[204a] the figure of Zeus on the silver coins of Vonones with Spalahora, of Vonones with Spalagadama, of Spalirises, of Spalirises with Azes,l and of Azes I alone, is very peculiar, with its head bent sideways and downwards, and pressed into the shoulders, with the left elbow bent at a sharper angle, and is unlike the figure of the deity on any other coin of the Greeks and the Scytho-Parthians. Hence, it "must almost certainly be the work of one and the same engraver." Marshall says, "Had Rapson's sequence of rulers (viz., Azes I, Azilises, Vonones, Spalahores, Spalagadames, Spalirises, Azes II) been correct, it is obvious that the same Zeus ought to have been found on the issues of Azilises, from which it is entirely absent."[205] If, however, we take the sequence of rulers as Vonones, Spalahora, Spalagadama, Spalirises, Azes I, Azilises, and Azes II, the absence of the peculiar figure of Zeus from the coins of Azilises can be explained by presuming that the engraver responsible for these figures died some time during the reign of Azes I.[206] Similar is the case with the copper coins.[207] The copper coins of Vonones with Spalahora, and of Vonones with Spalagadama, bear on the obverse a well executed figure of Standing Herakles, facing front, crowning himself with right hand, and holding club and lion's skin in left hand.[208] The copper coins of Spalahora with Spalagadama, of Azes, and of Azilises, bear on the reverse a very crude figure of seated Herakles, supporting club on knee.[209] If Rapson's sequence of the Scytho-Parthian rulers is correct, it would mean that Azes I and Azilises introduced the inferior type of seated Herakles; that Vonones with Spalahora and Vonones with Spalagadama replaced it by the superior type of standing Herakles; and that Spalyris with

Spalagadama again reverted to the inferior type. This, to Marshall, is "quite inexplicable proceeding."[210] However, if we accept that Azes I followed Spalirises, it is perfectly logical that Vonones with Spalahora, and Vonones with Spalagadama, used the superior type of standing Herakles, then Spalyris with Spalagadama had to use an inferior type of seated Herakles, probably due to want of skilled engraver, and then this inferior type was followed by Azes I and Azilises.[211] As such, it is almost certain that the Azes associated with Spalirises was Azes I, and not Azes II, and this sequence has now been accepted by most of the scholars.[212].

Some coins bearing the name of Azes on the obverse, and that of Azilises on the reverse,[213] show that at some stage in his career, - most probably during his last days - Azes I had associated in government, Azilises,[214] presumably his son.[215] A thing to be remarked here is that both Azes I and Azilises bear the full royal title of "Great King of Kings" on this coin. As such, Azilises does not appear to be a mere subordinate ruler. He seems to have been a co-ruler. Azes I, being the elder (the father), however, occupies the obverse, the place of honour.[216]

Similarly, most probably in the closing years of his own reign, Azilises had associated in government, another Azes, i.e., Azes II,[217] again, presumably his son,[218] and as they both bear the title of "Great King of Kings", Azes II was probably a co-ruler of Azilises, but being the younger (the son), occupies the reverse, or the less important side of the coin.

After becoming an independent ruler, Azes II is not seen to have issued joint coins with any of his relatives. He, however, struck coins in association with Indravarman,[219] and with Aśpavarman, the son of Indravarman.[220] As stated earlier, though

Aśpavarman is explicitly mentioned on his coins as the *strategos*, i.e., commander-in-chief of the imperial forces of Azes II, yet we do not know what office his father, Indravarman had held under that ruler. It, however, seems to be quite likely that he, too, was a *strategos* of the emperor.

While Azes II was ruling in India, Orthagnes, who appears to be a successor of Spalirises, or of the person who overthrew Spalirises,[221] was ruling over Arachosia through his subordinate rulers, Gondophernes and Guḍa.[222] We have several coin-types mentioning Orthagnes as the senior ruler on the obverse, and Gondophernes and Guḍa as subordinate rulers on the reverse [223]

Cunningham is, however, of the opinion that Orthagnes was not the overlord of Gondophernes, but a successor of the latter.[224] Smith[225] and Whitehead [226] support this view of Cunningham. E. Herzfeld has identified Orthagnes as an unnamed son of Vardanes, who rose against Vologases (I), and on the basis of the similarity between these joint issues of Orthagnes with Gondophernes and Guḍa, with the coins of Pakores, the successor of Gondophernes, has suggested that these joint coins were issued in the closing years of the reign of Gondophernes, when he was obliged to serve under Orthagnes.[226a] B.N. Mukherjee, however, shows that "the alleged similarity between the coins concerned does not warrant the conclusion to which E. Herzfeld arrived."[227] He shows that the similarity between the coins of Orthagnes with Gondophernes and Guḍa, and of Pakores is "not supported by hard facts"[228] He also points out that it is not certain who among Pakores, Abdagases, and Sasan was the immediate successor of Gondophernes.[229] B.N. Mukherjee also does not accept that Gondophernes, after having ruled as a supreme sovereign, was demoted to the position of a subordinate ruler towards the close of

his career. There is, indeed, no evidence - numismatic or otherwise -tc corroborate this. Again, according to B.N. Mukherjee, Gondophernes' reign ended some time after A.D. 46, while Vardanes (= father of Orthagnes, according to E. Herzfeld) rose to power in A.D. 55-58.[230] As such, the theory put forth by E. Herzfeld is untenable.

D.W. MacDowall,[232] on the basis of the weight standard, coin-portraits, and mint-marks, on the coins of Orthagnes with Gondophernes and Guḍa, has tried to place Orthagnes some time after Gondophernes, and he identified the Gondophernes of these coins with a second ruler of this name.[233] B.N. Mukherjee has shown that this is not possible,[234] and that the Gondophernes of the coins concerned has to be identified with the first ruler of this name. He has also shown the flaws in the arguments of MacDowall.[235]

Allan,[236] like Cunningham, Smith, and Whitehead, regards Orthagnes as the successor of Gondophernes. He suggests that the joint coins of Orthagnes with Gondophernes and Guḍa show that Orthagnes was not a predecessor and overlord of Gondophernes, but the latter's governor, probably in the closing years of the reign of Gondophernes.[237] But, as stated earlier, the superior position of Orthagnes at the time of the issue of the joint coins is proved by the occurrence of his name in Greek on the obverse of these coins.

Incidently, Sten Konow and J.E. van Lohuizen-De Leeuw are of the opinion that the names Orthagnes and Gondophernes refer to one and the same person. Konow suggests this on the basis of the fact that the titles of same import are ascribed to both of them on their joint issues.[238] Van Lohuizen-De-Leeuw regards Orthagnes and Gondophernes as identical because their names mean almost

the same.[239] These arguments are hardly convincing.[240] Again, van Lohuizen-De-Leeuw, on the basis of the alleged similarity between the coins of Orthagnes with Gondophernes and Guḍa, and those of Pakores, wants to place these coins bearing the three names in the last years of Gondophernes.[241] But we have already seen that such a theory seems to be untenable.

Thus, Rapson's theory that Orthagnes was the supreme ruler of Arachosia, under whom Gondophernes acted as a subordinate ruler there, seems to be the most acceptable.[242]

As Orthagnes' viceroy in Arachosia, Gondophernes had under him, a subordinate named Guḍa,[243] who is mentioned along with Gondophernes on the reverse of the joint issues. This Guḍa seems to be the same as Gad,[244] the brother of Gondophernes, "the King of India", mentioned in the Syriac version (circa middle of the third century A.D.) of the *Apocryphal Acts of Judas Thomas the Apostle.* According to this version, St. Thomas was selected to preach Christianity in India, but he was unwilling to come to this country. At this, Christ appeared before him in human form, and sold St. Thomas to an Indian merchant, Ḥabban, who had gone there at the command of King Gondophernes to bring him a skilled carpenter. On his arrival in India, St. Thomas was ordered by Gondophernes to build him a palace, but he spent the king's money in charity. The enraged king put him into prison. While he was in prison, Gad, the brother of Gondophernes, died, and on reaching heaven, he saw the heavenly palace built by St. Thomas for Gondophernes through charitable works. Gad was subsequently restored to life, and on returning to the earth, he told the story of the palace in heaven to the king. Gondophernes and Gad were both converted to Christianity.[245]

In India, Azes II was followed by Gondophernes, for coins

show that Aśpavarman, who had served as strategos under Azes II,served under Gondophernes in the same capacity,[246] and that Gondophernes was also served by Sasan, the nephew of Aśpavarman[247]

Rapson[247a] and Sten Konow[248] apparently believed that Gondophernes succeeded Azes II peacefully in North-western India. There is, however, no evidence to suggest that there existed any cordial relations between Azes II and Gondophernes.[249] It is quite possible that Gondophernes acquired the Indian territories of Azes II by force.[250]

On succeeding Azes II in India, Gondophernes seems to have dissociated himself from the administration of Arachosia,[251] and also to have asserted his independence, probably immediately after the conquest of North-wester India.[252] In this period, we must place the issue of Orthagnes with Guḍa alone.[253] It appears that when Gondophernes severed his relations with Orthagnes, the latter nominated Guḍa to succeed Gondophernes as the viceroy of Arachosia. The Arachosian types of Gondophernes alone, on which he bears royal titles,[254] indicate his sole authority over Arachosia. He seems to have either succeeded Orthagnes peacefully in that region after the latter's death, or to have conquered the region from Orthagnes, or his successor.[255] When Gondophernes established his sway over Arachosia after the temporary dissociation, Guḍa, who had been serving under Orthagnes as his viceroy, transferred his allegiance to Gondophernes,[256] which fact is shown by the joint issues referring to Gondophernes as "Great King of Kings" on the obverse, and Guḍa as "Great King, the victorious general, etc.,"[257] on the reverse.[258]

Gondophernes governed his extensive dominions through subordinate rulers. Of these, we already know of Aśpavarman.

Another subordinate ruler seems to be Abdagases, the nephew of Gondophernes. This Abdagases is know to have issued coins as "son of the brother of Gondophernes",[259] without himself taking any imperial titles.[260] As Abdagases is apparently taking pride in proclaiming himself the nephew of Gondophernes, and is also not taking any imperial titles himself, it would seem that Gondophernes was still the reigning monarch at the time of the issue of these coins, and that Abdagases was serving under him as a viceroy or sub-king.[261]

Some coins discovered during the excavations at Takṣaśilā bring to light the names of two subordinate rulers, Sapedana and Satavastra.[262] If one accepts Rapson's identification of the portraits on the obverse of the coins of these two princes as that of Gondophernes,[263] there remains little doubt that the two princes were subordinate rulers, serving under Gondophernes. But if, as suggested by Marshall [264] and Whitehead [265], the portraits on the coins of Sapedana and Satavastra are those of the individual princes themselves, they might or might not have served under Gondophernes. Their connection with the family of Gondophernes is,however, proved by the occurrence of the peculiar Gondophernes symbol on their coins.[266]. If we accept Marshall's suggestion that Sapedana and Satavastra were the successors of Sasan,[267] Gondophernes could not possible have been their overlord. As suggested by Rapson,[268] the title "King of Kings" (*rajaraja*) assumed by Sapedana on his coins shows that he acknowledged the supremacy of his overlord merely nominally.

It is not known for certain who succeeded Gondophernes after his death. We know the names of three rulers who seem to have been his successors, viz., Abdagases,[269] Pakores, and Sasan.[270]

They might have succeeded him one after the other. It is equally possible that after the death of Gondophernes, his vast dominions were split up, and that Abdagases, Pakores, and Sasan ruled over different parts of the empire simultaneously.

Rapson, on the basis of some coins with Gondophernes symbol and the portrait he believes of Pakores[271] on the obverse, and the name of Sasan on the reverse, suggests that Sasan, after the death of Gondophernes, served under his successor, Pakores.[272] But, Marshall[273] and Whitehead[274] are of the opinion that the portrait on this coin is not of Pakores, but of Sasan himself, and, hence, we know of no definite connection between Pakores and Sasan.[275] Marshall, however, is of the opinion that Sasan was a subordinate ruler under Pakores, but who, for all practical purposes, was an independent ruler.[276] We can, however, see no reason for regarding Pakores as the overlord of Sasan. The coin in question might have been issued even in the life-time of Gondophernes. We have already seen earlier that Sasan, even during Gondophernes' reign, was becoming bold enough so as to introduce his own name in Greek in the obverse legend, probably after the name of his overlord.[277] On the coins under consideration, he seems to have removed the name of Gondophernes from the reverse legend, and also probably from the obverse legend; to have introduced his portrait on the obverse; but to have retained the Gondophernes symbol on the obverse as a sign of the acknowledgment of (nominal) suzerainty of his overlord. It appears that immediately after the death of Gondophernes, Sasan asserted his independence, and established himself as a sovereign ruler, a fact vouched for by his coins referring to him with imperial titles.[278]

Thus, it appears, that after the death of Gondophernes, his

vast empire disintegrated, paving the way for the establishment of Kuṣāṇa supremacy in North-western India.[279]

JOINT COINS OF ŚAKA KṢATRAPAS HAGĀNA AND HAGĀMAṢA OF MATHURĀ

Copper coins bearing the name of the Śaka Kṣatrapa Hagāmaṣa of Mathurā have been found from that region.[280] As regards Hagāna, the only coins known for the king are those which he struck in association with Hagāmaṣa. The coin-type may be described as follows :

Obv. : A peculiar *vajra* (?) symbol in vertical position, on the r.; some indistinct symbols on top and bottom. Brāhmī legend : *Khatapana Hagānasa Hagāmaṣasa*,[281] in three lines.

Rev. : Standing horse to l.[282]

Copper. Round.

According to Smith, on the obverse of one coin,[283] there is a female figure at the top, parallel with the legend.[284] However, this is most probably traces of some indistinct symbol, as suggested by K.D. Bajpai.[285] On some coins, there is a tree-like symbol under the legend.[286] On a joint issue of Hagāna and Hagāmaṣa published by K.D. Bajpai,[287] there is the figure of the front of an animal (deer ?) at the bottom on the obverse. The first line of the Brāhmī legend on this coin reads *Khatapasa.*

As the name of Hagāna occurs in the obverse legend of these joint coins before the name of Hagāmaṣa, it is certain that Hagāna was the senior of the two.[288] Hagāna is generally believed to be the elder brother of Hagāmaṣa.[289]

References

1. See *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 517; also *AIU*, p. 126.

2. Tarn (*GBI*, p. 345, and fn. 7) states that Spalirises could not have been Vonones' brother, but used the title of "king's brother" as a title of honour. Marshall (*Taxila*, Vol. I, p. 49) seems to be inclined to agree with him. For the coins mentioning Spalirises as "king's brother', see *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 143, Pl. XIV, 394.

3. *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 141, Pl. XIV, 373.

4. *AIU*, p. 123.

5. *JRAS*, 1906, p. 215.

6. *Cf.* Narain, *IG*, p. 134, and fn. 5.

7. *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 141, Pl. XIV, 374; *BMC,GSKBI*, p. 98, Pl. XXI, 7; *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 40, Pl. VIII, 5; *JNSI*, Vol. XLIV, p. 73, Pl. II, 5a-b.

8. *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 141, Pl. XIV, 379; *BMC, GSKBI*, p. 98, Pl. XXI, 9; *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 41; *CCS*, p. 35, Pl. IV,3.

9. The obverse and reverse side of the coin in the case of bilingual issues is determined by the fact that the side with the legend in Greek, the most important official language of the Scytho-Parthians, (See B.N. Mukherjee, *Agrippan Source*, pp. 87, 99, and 130, n. 155) is the more important side of the two, and hence, the obverse. The side with the Kharoṣṭhī legend is the reverse.

10. See *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 92; *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 518; *CCS*, p. 6; *Taxila*, Vol. I, p. 51; *Agrippan Source*, p. 85.

11. *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 142, Pl. XIV, 382; *BMC,GSKBI*, p. 99, Pl. XXI, 10; *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 42, Pl. VIII, 6; *CCS*, p. 35, Pl. IV, 4.

12. *PMC*, Vol. I, p 142, Pl. XIV, 385; *BMC,GSKBI*, p. 99, nos.5, 6 Pl. XXI, 11; *CCS*, p. 35, Pl. IV, 6.

13. See the Kharoṣṭhī legend on these joint coin-types.

14. See *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 92; *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 518; *CCS*, p. 6; *Taxila*, Vol. I, p. 51; *Agrippan Source*, p. 85.

15. *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 143, Pl. XIV, 386; *BMC,GSKBI*, p.100, PlXXI,12; *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 41, Pl. VIII, 7; *JNSI*, Vol. XIV, Pt. I, pp. 49-50, Pl. I, 10; *CCS*, p. 36, Pl. IV, 7.

16. *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 143, no. 393 is round in shape, the only round specimen known till then.
17. *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 92, and p. 143, fn. 1; *IMC*, Vol. I, pp. 40, 41; Tarn, *GBI*, pp. 332, 341, 344; *CCS*, p. 7; IG, p. 152; *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 518; *Agrippan Source*, p. 85, and n . 145.
18. *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 518; *Agrippan Source*, p. 85.
19. *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 143, Pl. XIV, 394; *CCS*, pp. 36-37, Pl. IV, 9; *BMC,GSKBI*, Pl. XXII, 1
20. *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 92; *IG*, p. 152; *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 517; *IMC*, Vol. I, pp. 35-36; *AIU*, pp. 123-24.

20a. See *AIU*, p. 124.

21. *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 39, no. 11.
22. *JASB*, 1858, p. 252.
23. *CCS*, p. 36. He illustrates the coin with a line-drawing, Pl. IV, 8.
24. He regards Cunningham's drawing of the coin, where the names of Vonones and Azes are clearly visible, as "far from faithful." See *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 39, fn. 1.
25. See *ibid.*, p. 39, no. 11.
26. *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 93.
27. He informed us of his view in a personal communication.
28. *Sakastan*, p. 92.
29. *GBI*, p. 344, fn. 2.
30. But cf. the joint coins of Azes I and Azilises (*PMC*, Vol. I, p. 132) where both of them are "Great King of Kings".
31. *CCS*, p. 5.
32. Whitehead draws attention to the first letter in Spalirises' name, which "seems to foreshadow the use of the new letter p. (sh) on the coins of Kaniṣka." See *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 144, fn.l.
33. *PMC*, Vol.I, p. 144, Pl. XIV, 395; *BMC,GSKBI*, p. 102, Pl. XXII, 3; *CCS*, p. 37, Pl. IV, 11.
34. On some coins issued by Spalirises (*PMC*, Vol. I, p. 144, Pl. XIV, 397) he has used this title, thereby proclaiming himself as the supreme sovereign.

35. Rapson, *CHI* Vol. I, p. 517. Tarn *GBI*, p. 346, fn. 3, thinks that this is possible.

36. Marshall (*Taxila*, Vol. II, p. 776) is of the view that Spalirises assumed the title of Basileus after asserting independence, and that the joint coin of Spalirises and Azes was struck after this event.

37 *Taxila*, Vol I. p 51.

38. *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 144, Pl. XIV, 396; *BMC,GSKBI*, p. 102, Pl. XXII, 4; *CCS*, p. 37, Pl. IV, 13.

39. *CHI*, Vol. I, pp. 517, 518.

40. See *infra*.

41. G. Le Rider, "Monnaise de Taxila et d'Arachosie, une nouvelle reine de Taxila" in *Revue des Etudes Grecques*, 1967, Vol. LXXX, pp. 331 ff., referred to by B.N. Mukherjee, *JNSI*, Vol. XLV, p. 27 ff.

41a. *JNSI*, Vol. XLV, p. 27, Pl. IV, 6. Cf. the obverse and reverse devices of a coin of Maues, *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 98, Pl. X, 4. The reverse legend on this Punjab Museum coin is exactly the same as that on the joint issue of Machenes and Maues. The obverse legend on the Punjab Museum coin is the Greek version of the Kharoṣṭhī legend here.

42. *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 99, Pl. X, 13.

43. *JNSI*, Vol. XLV, p. 30, and fn. 2.

44. "Monnaise de Taxila et d'Arachosie, une nouvelle reine de Taxila" in *Revue des Etudes Grecques*, 1967, Vol. LXXX, p. 339, referred to by B.N. Mukherjee, *JNSI*, Vol. XLV, p. 29.

45. *JNSI*, Vol. XLV, p. 29.

46. B.N. Mukherjee suggests that Machenes might have been Maues' mother.

47. See *supra*, Chapter I.

48. See *supra*, Types 3,4 of Agathokleia and Strato I.

49. *JNSI*, Vol. XLV, p.29.

50. On the joint coins of Vonones with Spalahora, and of Vonones with Spalagadama, only the round forms of the letters appear in the obverse Greek legend (*Supra.*). However, on the joint issues of Spalahora (= Spalyris) and Spalagadama, the square forms of letters occur in the

obverse Greek legend (*supra*.).

51. See *infra*.

52. *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 516; *GBI*, p. 348 and fn. 1; *AIU*, p. 127; *IMC*, Vol. I, p.49.

53. *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 132, Pl. XIII, 319; *BMC, GSKBI*, p. 173, Pl. XXXII, 9; *CCS*, p. 49, Pl. VII, 4.

54. See *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 132, fn. 1. Interestingly, Whitehead himself does not identify the deity positively.

55. *CHI*, Vol.I, p. 516; *Taxila*, Vol I, p. 53, Vol. II, p. 769; *AIU*, p. 127; *Agrippan Source*, p. 87.

56. That Azilises was the father of Azes II, see *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 516; *GBI*, p. 348, fn. 1; *AIU*,p. 127; *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 50.

57. *CCS*, p.47, Pl. VII, A2.

58. In *BMC,GSKBI*, p. 92, king is described as holding a bow.

59. *BMC,GSKBI*, p. 92, Pl. XX, 3.

60. *JASB, NS*, (Nov. 1910, Vol. VI, No. 10), p. 562; *BMC,GSKBI*, Pl. XXI, 5. (This coin is a joint issue of Azilises and Azes II, and not an issue of Azilises alone, as mentioned in *BMC,GSKBI*).

61. Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 319.

62. *CHI*, Vol I, p. 516; *Taxila*, Vol. I, p. 53, Vol II, p. 769; *AIU*, p. 127; *Agrippan Source*, p. 87.

63. See *supra*.

64. See *supra*, Types 1-3.

65. See *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 516; *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 36; *Taxila*, Vol. II, p. 769; *GBI*, p. 348, and fn. 1; *AIU*, p. 127. It must be remarked that E. Herzfeld suggests that Azes, Azilises, Aya, and Ayaliṣa are names of one king only. (*Sakastan*, pp. 97-98).

65a. *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 93.

66. *American Numismatic Society Centennial Volume*, pp. 45-53.

67. *East and West*, 1958, Vol. IX, pp. 167-168.

68. *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 93.

69. See *JNSI*, Vol. XVII, Pt. II, pp. 1-2.

70. *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 516.
71. *JNSI*, Vol. XVII, Pt. II,pp. 1-2.
72. *Ibid.*, p. 1.
73. *Ibid.*, Pl. III, 11, and Pl. IV, 1.
74. *Ibid.*, Pl. IV, 4.
75. *Ibid.*, Pl. II, 7.
76. *Ibid.*, Pl. II, 10.
77. *Ibid.*, Pl. II, 11.
78. *Ibid.*, Pl. II, 8.
79. *Ibid.*, Pl. II, 12.
80. *CII*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. XL.
81. *JIH*, 1933, Vol. XII, p. 24.
82. *Taxila*, Vol. I, p. 131.
83. See N.G. Majumdar, *ASIAR*, 1928-29, pp. 169-174.
84. *Agrippan Source*, pp. 86-87.
85. That Azilises had a long reign is indicated by the great variety of his coins. Whitehead (*PMC*, Vol. I, pp. 133-140) describes seventeen types of Azilises, apart from the five types unrepresented in the Punjab Museum (see *PMC*,Vol. I, p. 141, unrepresented types).
86. Marshall (*Taxila*, Vol. II, p. 773) suggests that the debasement in coins from Azes II onwards was introduced to facilitate interchange of currencies between the Scytho-Parthian and the Andhra empires whose boundaries touched the empire of Azes II, and where lead and potin coins were in circulation. It is, however, difficult to see why Azes II debased all his currency, when he had access to the rich silver mines of Paropamisadae and Arachosia.
87. But cf. the case of the Kārddamaka Śaka Kṣatrapa Rudrasiṁha I, who ruled as Mahākṣtrapa twice, with a spell as Kṣatrapa in between the two phases of his rule as Mahākṣatrapa. See V.V. Mirashi, *Sātavāhanon, etc.* Pt. I, pp. 62-63.
88. *CCS*, p. 68, Pl. XII, 7,8. Cunningham was, however, unable to read the name of Itravarman.

89. See *infra.*

90. The conjunct letter *ndra* may also be read as *tra* (see Buhler, Table I, Column IX); also *Taxila*, Vol II, p. 775, and fn. 4; *NC*, 1944, p. 102; *Agrippan Source*, p. 88, and ns. 160 and 164.

91. *Agrippan Source*, p. 88.

92. Tray Aśpavarman 64 - coins nos. Cunningham 674 and 1638, now in the British Museum. See *Agrippan Source*, Pl. III, 14.

93. *Ibid.*, p. 88.

94. *Ibid.*

95. *BMC,GSKBI*, Pl. XX, 2; *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 130, Pl. XII, 317; *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 52, Pl. IX, 7; *CCS*, pp. 67-68, Pl. XII, 6.

96. *CHI*, Vol. I, pp. 520-521; *CCS*, p. 8; *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 130., fn. 1; *Taxila*, Vol. II, p. 777; *Agrippan Source*, p. 88.

97. *Taxila*, Vol. II, p. 777. It is possible that his father, Indravarman, too, was a strategos, but this is not mentioned on his coins.

98. This fact itself shows that Orthagnes was the senior ruler and that Gandophernes and Guḍa were his subordinate viceroys. Cunningham (*CCS*, pp. 19-20), however, regards Orthagnes as a family member and successor of Gondophernes.

99. *NNM(NSI)*, No.4, p. 16 (Specimen in the British Museum).

100. *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 155, Pl. XVI,.72.

101. *NNM(NSI)*, No. 4, p. 16 (Specimen in the British Museum).

102. *NNM (NSI)*, No. 4, p. 16 (specimen in the British Museum).

103. *Ibid.*, p. 16 (specimen in the British Museum).

104. See B. N. Mukherjee, *Agrippan Source*, p. 98, and n. 206.

105. Agrippan Source, pp. 99-100.

106. BMC, GSKI, p. 109, Pl. XXIII, 9.

106a. See ibid, pp lxx-lxxi.

107. See *supra.*

108. For the attribution of this coin to Gondophernes, see *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 150, fn. 1.; B.N. Mukherjee has been able to read the name of Gondophernes on these coins. See *Agrippan Source* p.88.

109. *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 150, Pl. XV, 35.

110. *CHI*, Vol. I, pp. 520-521; *Taxila*, Vol. I, p. 53; *PMC*, Vol. I, pp. 93-94; *Agrippan Source*, pp. 88-89.

112. *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 521; *Agrippan Source*, pp. 101, 104.

113. *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 156, no. 75. See *NNM(NSI)*, No.4, p. 16, for a specimen in the British Museum.

114. *NC*, 1950, pp. 223-225, no. 16, Pl. XII, 13; *NNM(NSI)*, No.4, pp. 16-17; also *Agrippan Source*, p. 99, and n. 209.

115. *Agrippan Source*, p. 104.

116. *Ibid.*

117. *IMC*, Vol. I, pp. 54-55, Pl. IX, 9.

118. *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 148, Pl. XV, 20; *BMC,GSKBI*, Pl.. XXII, 13, *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 55.

119. *CCS*. p. 64, Pl. XI, 8.

120. *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 38.

121. *CCS*, pp. 64-65.

122. *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 147, fn. 1.

122a. *Aśpabhrataputrasa*. See *Taxila*, Vol. II, p. 815, nos. 201 208, Pl. 241.

123. Rapson (*CHI*, Vol. I, p. 521) regards him as the commander in -chief.

124. Rapson, *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 521;Marshall, *Taxila*, Vol. I, p. 62, Vol. II, p. 777; B.N. Mukherjee, *Agrippan Source*, p. 88.

125. Complete legend, as given in *NNM(NSI)*, No. 4, p. 20, is BACILEYNTOYC BACIΛEWN X CACOY.

126. *CCS*, pp. 64-65, Pl. XI, 9.

127. *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 521.

128. *Ibid.*, p. 534, Pl. VII, 34.

129. See *ibid.*, p. 523. Cf. Cunningham, *NC*, 1890, p. 119.

130. See B.N. Mukherjee, *Agrippan Source*, pp. 246-248.

131. See *Taxila*, Vol. I, p. 61.

132. Compare this coin-type with that issued by Spalirises as king's brother (*PMC*, Vol. I, p. 143, Pl. XIV, 394).

133. See B.N. Mukherejee, *Agrippan Source*, p. 246.

134. *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 154, Pl. XV, 64.

135. *Taxila*, Vol. II, p. 816, Pl. 241, no. 211.

136. *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 524.

137. *Taxila*, Vol. I, p. 60.

138. See *infra*.

139. *Taxila*, Vol. III, Pl. 241, no. 211 (Sapedana); Pl 242, no. 217 (Satavastra).

140. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p 60.

141. *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 524.

142. *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 524.

143. Marshall expresses a similar view. See *Taxila*, Vol. II, p. 776; also, *AIU*, p. 131, for Sircar's view.

144. Marshall, *Taxila*, Vol. II, p. 816, no 212, Pl. 241.

145. *Ibid* ., p. 816, no 212.

146. *Agrippan Source*, pp. 219-220..

147. *Taxila*, Vol. II, p. 816, no. 212; *Agrippan Source*, pp. 219.

148. *Taxila*, Vol. II, p. 816, no,. 217, Pl. 242.

149. See *CHI*, Vol I, p. 524; also, *AIU*, p. 131.

150. Rapson, *CHI*, Vol. I, pp. 523, 524; also, *AIU*, p. 131.

151. *Taxila*, Vol. II, p. 815, no. 201; also p. 777. See also Whitehead in *Taxila*, Vol. II, pp. 839-840.

152. *Ibid.*, Pl. 241, no. 201.

153. *Taxila*, Vol. II, p. 777.

154. *NC*, 1950, pp. 222-223.

155. *Ibid.*

156. See B.N. Mukherjee, *Agrippan Source*, pp. 245-246.

157. *AIU*, p. 123; *Agrippan source*, p. 67. Rapson (*CHI*, Vol. I, p. 513), however, holds different view.

158. *Agrippan Source*, pp. 67 ff.

159. *CCS*, p. 3.

160. *GBI*, pp. 344-345.

161. *Ibid.*, p. 345.

162. *Ibid.*, p. 346.

163. *East and West*, 1957, Vol. VIII, p. 45.

164. *Agrippan Source*, p. 90.

165. *CCS*, p. 5.

166. Cf. *CHI*, Vol. I, pp. 513, 516-518; *AIU*, p. 123.

167. *Agrippan Source*, p. 89; also, pp. 33-34, n. 18, pp. 131-133, n. 172.

168. *Ibid.*, p. 133.

168a. *CCS*, p. 5.

168b. See *supra*.

169. See *supra*.

170. See *supra*.

171. *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 513.

172. See *supra*.

173. See *supra*.

174. See *supra*.

175. *CHI*, Vol. I, pp. 517-518; also, Whitehead, *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 92; Sircar, *AIU*, pp. 123-124; Smith, *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 35.

176. *GBI*, p. 345, and fn. 7.

177. *Taxila*. Vol. I, p. 49.

178. See *supra*.

179. *AIU*, p. 123.

180. See *supra*. That the king mentioned on these coins was Vonones, see *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 92; *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 517; *IMC*, Vol. I, pp. 35-36; *AIU*, pp. 123-124; *IG*, p. 152.

181. That the Azes associated with Spalirises was Azes I, see *infra*.

182. See *supra*.

183. *East and West*, 1957, Vol. VIII, p. 46.

184. *Agrippan Source*, p. 129.

185. E.g., see coins of Zeionises, *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 157, Pl. XVI, 82; *IMC*, Vol. I, pp. 58-59, Pl. IX, 14; *CCS*, pp. 66-67, Pl. XII, 1-5.

186. The above reasons given by B.N. Mukherjee, *Agrippan Source*, p. 129.

187. The identity of Spalahora with Spalyris is beyond doubt. See *supra*.

188. *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 92; *IMC*, Vol. I, pp. 35-36; *CCS*, p. 6; *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 518; *Taxila*, Vol. I, p. 51; *AIU*, p. 124; Agrippan Source, p. 90.

189. *JNSI*, Vol. XVII, Pt. II, p. 3.

190. *Ibid.*

191. See *AIU*, p. 124. B.N. Mukherjee is, however, of the opinion that these overstrikings do not necessarily mean that Vonones and Spalirises were enemies. See *Agrippan Source*, p. 128, n. 146. To us, the theory of the usurpation of the throne by Spalirises seems to be more convincing.

192. Cf. Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 313.

193. *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 92; *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 36; *CHI*, Vol. I, pp. 514, 515; *CCS*, p.8. Konow (*JIH*, Vol. XII, 1933, p. 20), Tarn (*GBI*, p. 349), and Marshall (*Taxila*, Vol. I, pp. 48-52), though they accept that Azes I followed Maues in India, place the former, not immediately after the latter, but a few years after Maues' death.

194. *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 36.

195. See *supra*.

196. See *AIU*, p. 128, and fn. 1

197. *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 98, Pl. X; 5· p. 100, no. 17, Pl. X, 18; and p. 103, Pl. X, 35.

198. *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 98, Pl. X, 1; p. 99, Pl. X, 10; p. 99, Pl. X, 13; p. 100, Pl. X, 20; p. 101, nos. 23, 24, 25, Pl. X, 25, and others.

199. See *supra*.

200. See above.

201. *CHI*, Vol I, p. 517.

202. *Ibid.*

203. *JNSI*, Vol. XVII, Pt. II, p. 3.

204. *Ibid.*, Pl. I, 4, 5.

204a. *Taxila*, Vol.I, pp. 49-50.

205. *Ibid.*

206. *Ibid.*, p.50.

207. *Ibid.*

208. *CCS*, Pl. IV, 3,6; *BMC,GSKBI*, Pl. XXI, 9, 11.

209. *CCS*, Pl. IV, 7; Pl. VI, 6; Pl. VIII, 3, 3A; *BMC, GSKBI*, Pl. XXI, 11, 12.

210. *Taxila*, Vol I, p. 50.

211. *Ibid.*

212. Smith, *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 36, also *EHI*, p. 244; Tarn, *GBI*, pp. 347-48; Marshall, *Taxila*, Vol. I, pp. 49-50; Sircar, *AIU*, pp. 125-27;Narain, *IG*, p.152; B.N.Mukherjee, *Agrippan Source*, p.87.

213. See *supra*.

214. *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 516; *GBI*, p. 348, fn 1; *AIU*, p. 127; *Taxila*, Vol. I, p. 53, Vol. II, p. 769; *Agrippan Source*, p-87.

215. See *supra*.

216. See *CHI*, Vol. I,p. 516.

217. That there were most probably two kings bearing the name of Azes, see *supra*.

218. *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 516; *GBI*, p. 348, and fn. 1; *AIU*, p. 127; *Taxila*, Vol. I, p. 53, Vol. II, p. 769; *Agrippan Source*, p. 87.

219. See *supra*. B.N. Mukherjee has read the name of Azes II on the coins of Indravarman (Itravarman). See *Agrippan Source*, p. 88.

220. See *supra*.

221. See *AIU*. p. 128, and fn. 1. Sircar here says that it was Orthagnes who succeeded or overthrew Spalirises. We, however, feel that it was some ancestor of Orthagnes who followed or overthrew Spalirises in Arachosia, for we find, as shall be seen below, that Gondophernes, the subordinate ruler of Orthagnes in Arachosia, succeeded Azes II in India and this Azes II appears to be the great-grandson of Spalirises.

222. *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 521.

223. See *supra*.

224. *CCS*, pp. 15, 19-20.

225. *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 36.

226. *PMC*, Vol. I, pp. 94, 96.

226a. *Sakastan*, pp. 102-104.

227. *Agrippan Source*, p. 144, n. 211.

228. *Ibid.*, pp. 138-139.

229. *Ibid.*, p. 139.

230. *Agrippan Source*, p.144.

232. *NC*, 1965, pp. 141-143.

233. *Ibid.*, pp. 140, 143.

234. *Agrippan Source* pp. 142-143.

235. Cf. B.N. Mukherjee, *ibid.*, pp. 141-142.

236. *Cambridge Shorter History of India*, p. 70.

237. *Ibid.*

238. *CII*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. XLVI. Cf. the titles of Azes I and Azilises on their joint issues.

239. *The Scythian Period*, pp. 359-360.

240. See *Agrippan Source*, pp. 137-138, n. 207, for the reasons for regarding these arguments as unconvincing.

241. *The Scythian Period*, p. 361.

242. *AIU*, p. 128; *Taxila*, Vol. I, pp. 58-59; *Agrippan Source*, pp. 98-99.

243. That Guḍa was subordinate to Gondophernes, the viceroy of Arachosia, see *supra*.

244. *CHI*, Vol. I, pp. 522-523; *Taxila*, Vol. I, p. 63, Cf. Herzfeld, *Sakastan*, pp. 79-80, who regards Guḍaṇa as borther-in-law of Gondophernes.

245. See Wright's Translation, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, Vol. II, pp. 146, ff. *CHI*, Vol. I, pp. 522-523.

246. See *supra*.

247. See *supra*. That Azes II was served by the uncle (Aśpavarman) and Gondophernes by both the uncle and the nephew (Sasan) suggests that Gondophernes followed Azes II.

247a. *CHI*, Vol. I, pp. 520—521.

248. *CII*, Vol. II, Pt. I pp. XLIV, XLVI, LVIII.

249. *Agrippan Source*, p. 103.

250. H.C. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, p. 401, and J.N. Banerjea in *Comp. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 210, have expressed this view.

251. *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 521; *Agrippan Source*, p. 104.,

252. *Agrippan Source*, p. 104; also, p. 147, n. 238.

253. *Agrippan Source*, pp. 103-104; *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 521.

254. *NNM(NSI)*, No. 4, pp. 16-18.

255. *Agrippan Source*, p. 104. Marshall (*Taxila*, Vol. I, p. 59), however, says that the independent Arachosian issues of Gondophernes ascribed to him only royal, and not imperial, titles, and suggests that after the death of Orthagnes, his dominions were split up, and Gondophernes inherited only a part of it. B.N. Mukherjee does not accept this, for, he says, the lower title might have been a mistake committed by the mint-master or the die-cutter. See *Agrippan Source*, p. 148, n. 240.

256. *Agrippan Source*, p. 104.

257. See *supra*. See also *Agrippan Source*, p. 104.

258. See Prashant Srivastava, *Pañchāla*, Vol. V, p. 217.

259. See *supra*.

260. *Ibid.*

261. Marshall, *Taxila*, Vol. I, p. 61, Vol. II, pp. 775-776.

262. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 60, Vol. II, pp. 816-817, Pl. 241, no. 211 (Sapedana), Pl. 242, no. 217 (Satavastra).

263. *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 524.

264. *Taxila*, Vol. I, p. 60.

265. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 839-840.

266. *Taxila*, Vol. I, p. 60.

267. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 776, fn. 1. Cf. B.N. Mukherjee, *Agrippan Source*, p. 252.

268. *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 524. See also, Marshall, *Taxila*, Vol. II, p. 776. For details, see *supra*.

269. Rapson says that Abdagases did not rule independently at any time, for no coins ascribe to him imperial titles (*CHI*, Vol. I, p. 523). However,

on *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 154, no. 64, Pl. XV, Abdagases is described as *Maharaja rajatiraja* ("Great King of Kings"), which, no doubt proclaims him as an independent ruler.

270. Cunningham, (*CCS*, p. 15) believed that Gondophernes was followed by Abdagases, Orthagnes, Pakores, and Senabares. Smith (*IMC*, Vol. I, p. 36) holds that Orethagnes and Abdagases ruled simultaneously, and that they were followed by Pakores. MacDowall (*NC*, 1965, pp. 141-143) suggests that Gondophernes was followed by Abdagases, Orthagnes, and Pakores in this chronological order. Marshall (*Taxila*, Vol. I, pp. 60-64) suggests that Gondophernes was followed by Pakores and Abdagases. That Orthagnes was not a successor, but the overlord of Gondophernes, see *supra*.

271. *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 524.

272. *Ibid.*

273. *Taxila*, Vol. II, p., 777.

274. *Ibid.*, pp. 839-840.

275. See *supra*.

276. *Taxila*, Vol I, p. 62; Vol. II, p. 777, and p. 776, fn.1.

277. See *supra*.

278. See *supra*.

279. *Taxila*, Vol. I, p.64.

280. K.D. Bajpai, *Indian Numismatic Studies*, p. 103; See *BMC, AI*, pp. 183-184; *IMC*, Vol. I, pp. 195-196.

281. Cunningham (*CAI*, p. 87) reads the legend as *Khatapāna Hagāna Hagamāṣasa*. Allan (*BMC, AI*, p. 184) reads it as *Khatapāna Hagānasa Hagāmaṣasa*. Smith (*IMC*, Vol. I, p. 195) has suggested the reading *Khatapānā Hagānasa Hagāmāṣasa*.

282. Cunningham, *CAI*, p. 87, Pl. VIII, 7; *BMC, AI*, p. 184, Pl. XXVI, 6; *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 195; K.D. Bajpai, JNSI, Vol. XXV, Pt. I, pp. 102-103. Smith, on one coin he ascribes to Hagāna and Hagāmaṣa, sees a man in front of horse to right (IMC, Vol. I, p. 195, no. 6). However, according to K.D. Bajpai (*Indian Numismatic Studies*, p. 103) the coin "has wrongly been put under the joint category by Smith." It must be remarked that apart from the word *Khatapa*, Smith has been unable to read the obverse

Brāhmī legend. Cunningham regards the side of the joint coin with the legend as the reverse. See *CAI*, p. 87.

283. *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 195, no. 1.

284. Cf. coin no. 62, p. 108, Satya Shrava, *The Śakas in India*. He takes this figure to be that of Lakṣmī.

285. *Indian Numismatic Studies*, p. 103, fn. 4.

286. *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 195, no. 3; also, *BMC, AI*, Pl. XXVI, 6.

287. *Indian Numismatic Studies*, p. 104.

288. D.C. Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, p. 313.

289. *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 190; K.D. Bajpai, *Indian Numismatic Studies*, p. 103.

3

JOINT ISSUES OF THE KUṢĀṆAS, AND OF THE GAḌAHARAS, THE ṢĀKAS, AND THE ṢILĀDAS

There are two interesting types of coins which have long been the topic of debate among the scholars. The debate is over the nature of the coins. While some scholars regard them as joint issues, others treat them as commemorative medallions, while still others take them as mere imitations of earlier popular coin-types.

TYPE 1

The first type has the name and bust of the Indo-Greek ruler, Hermaios on the obverse, and the name of Kujula Kadphises, or Kadphises I, on the reverse.

Obv.	:	Diademed bust of Hermaios to r. Gr. legend : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΡΟΣΣΥ(above) ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ (below).
Rev.	:	Diademed Herakles, standing facing; club, resting on ground, in r. hand; lion's skin in l. hand. Kh. legend : *Kujula Kasasa Kuṣaṇa yavugasa dhramaṭhidasa.*[1]

Copper. Round. (Pl. V, 5).

TYPE 2

The second type has only the bust of Hermaios on the obverse, while the Greek legend gives the name and title of Kujula Kadphises. The reverse Kharoṣṭhī legend also gives the name and titles of Kadphises I.

Obv. : Diademed bust of Hermaios to r. Gr. legend : ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟΥ ΚΑΔΦΙΖΟΥ ΚΟΡCΟΛΟΥ.[2]

Rev. : Herakles, standing facing; club, resting on ground, in r. hand; lion's skin in l. hand. Kh. legend : *Kujula Kasasa Kuṣana yavugasa dhramaṭhidasa.*[3]

Copper. Round. (Pl. V, 6).

There are two interesting words used in the coin-legends of these two types -ΣΤΗΡΟΣΣΥ and *yavuga*. As regards ΣΤΗΡΟΣΣΥ, Cunningham suggested that ΣΤΗΡΟΣ stands for ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ with the omega always omitted,[4] while he gives two explanations for the term ΣΥ. At one place, he regards ΣΥ as an abbreviation of Summachos, the "ally" of Hermaios.[5] At another place in the same work, he regards ΣΥ as possibly intended for the Greek word meaning, the "kinsman" of Hermaios "by marriage of the Greek King's daughter with the Scythian conqueror."[6]

Rapson, however, suggested that ΣΥ is really connected with ΣΤΗΡΟΣ, and that the single epithet ΣΤΗΡΟΣΣΥ corresponds to the Kharoṣṭhī title *mahatasa* on the reverse.[7] This view has the support of Whitehead.[8] Gardner seems to regard ΣΥ as a Scythian title.[9] Konow also took ΣΤΗΡΟΣ as a corruption of the Greek title ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, and ΣΥ , he explained as the Kuṣāṇa title PAO, "King".[10]

But, as pointed out by Tarn,[11] the word ΣΤΗΡΟΣ "occurs

too regularly and consistently" for this to be regarded as a corruption of ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. However, he regards Konow's explanation of ΣΥ as "most probable",[12] mainly because on a Bajaur seal of Theudama, the word *su* is used in the sense of "King".[13] Tarn "ventures" to suggest that ΣΤΗΡΟΣ is in the same language as ΣΥ and "the meaning must be related to Kharoshṭhī legend on the copper coins of the third class [14] with round omicron - 'Great King' or something of the sort."[15]

Gobind Pai explains SY as standing for "syzugou", the genitive singular of "syzugos", which means conjoint, and implies the joint rule of the Indo-Greek Hermaios, with the Kuṣāṇa Kujula Kadphises.[16] This explanation has been considered as "far-fetched".[17]

In the present state of knowledge, it is indeed, difficult to ascertain the actual meaning of the term ΣΤΗΡΟΣΣΥ. However, Tarn's explanation of the term seems to be the most logical. It must, however, be pointed that here, ΣΥ occurs with the Greek epithet of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ but the Kuṣāṇas are not known to have used the title PAO together with any Greek epithet like ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ.[18]

Yavuga is a "native title",[19] which, in Turkish, stands for "chief".[20] Professor Dowson reads *Yarug* and *Yaü*, and says that "the two words are probably only different ways of expressing some foreign title".[21] Professor Dowson also points out that the gutturals are often dropped, and by dropping the guttural *ga*, *Yavuga* will become *Yau*. This *Yau* is rendered on some coins of Kadphises I, bearing the Roman bust,[22] as ZAOOY in Greek.[23]

On the basis of the name and bust of Hermaios occurring on the obverse, and the name of Kujula Kadphises occurring on the

reverse of the same coin,[24] and the bust of Hermaios with the name of Kujula Kadphises on the obverse of another coin-type,[25] Cunningham asserts that Hermaios was the last Indo-Greek ruler, and that Kujula Kadphises "subverted the Greek dominion in India."[26] He further suggests[27] that some of Hermaios' provinces - Kabul and Gazni - were occupied by the Śakas, and it was due to this danger that he sought the aid of the Kuṣāṇa ruler, Kujula Kadphises, who was a powerful chief, and an enemy of the Śakas. Cunningham even hints that Hermaios might have given his daughter in marriage to Kadphises I, like Seleukos.[28] From this time, Hermaios became "a mere pageant king, under the protection of the great Scythian conqueror, Kujula Kadphises, the chief of the Kushan tribe."[29] It was during this period that the coins bearing the joint names of Hermaios and Kujula Kadphises were issued. As these coins have been found in great abundance,[30] "this state of affairs must have lasted for some years, until it was finally closed either by the death or removal of Hermaeus."[31]

Thus, Cunningham's view is that Kujula Kadphises, who was earlier associated with Hermaios, overthrew him, and became the sole sovereign.

This joint coin theory was accepted by most of the early scholars. Whitehead, too, regards Kadphises I as the person who put an end to the Greek rule in India,[32] and regards these coins as joint issues of Hermaios and Kujula Kadphises.[33]

Smith, on the basis of these coins, says, "For a time the Greek king (Hermaios) and the barbarian chieftain (Kadphises I) shared the sovereignty of Kabul, but gradually the Greek power was wholly obliterated, and the Kushan attained undisputed dominion."[34]

Earlier, Rapson, too, opined that the coins with the names of Hermaios and Kujula Kadphises were joint issues.[35] J.E. Van Lohuizen-De-Leeuw[36] and Ghirshman[37] give support to the theory of the coins under discussion being joint issues of Hermaios and Kujula Kadphises.

Sten Konow expressed the view that when Kadphises I invaded Parthia, Hermaios formed an alliance with him in order to get rid of the yoke of Parthian supremacy. But he was forced by the Kuṣāṇa to share the government with him, and was shortly replaced by the latter.[38]

The joint coin theory has been supported by Jai Prakash.[39] Gobind Pai has suggested that these coins are joint issues of Hermaios and Kadphises I, but this Hermaios is not that Hermaios who had struck coins in association with Kalliope, but some other king of the same name.[40]

F. W. Thomas was perhaps the first scholar to point out that there was a gap between Hermaios and Kadphises I, in which, the Pahlavas were masters of Kabul.[41] This led to a change in the view of Rapson, who accepted the view of Thomas as "almost certainly correct."[42] He suggested that there was an interval of at least seventy years between the end of the Indo-Greek rule and the beginning of the Kuṣāṇa rule, in which period is to be placed the rule of the Scytho-Parthians in Kabul, and that Kabul valley passed from the Pahlavas to the Kuṣāṇas.[43] He regards the coins of Kadphises I bearing the name of Hermaios as mechanical copies of the coins of Hermaios by Kujula Kadphises.[44] Sten Konow, too, changed his earlier opinion, and said that the coins under consideration here were issued many years after the death of Hermaios by his Pahlava and Kuṣāṇa conquerors.[45]

Marshall's excavations at Takṣaśilā also reveal that Pahlava rule intervened between that of the Indo-Greeks and the Kuṣāṇas, and that Kujula Kadphises came after Gondophernes.[46]

Van Lohuizen-De-Leeuw, in order to do away with the problem of dates, places Kujula Kadphises very early,[47] while Ghirshman places Hermaios very late,[48] to make them contemporaries. Neither of these dates appears to be acceptable, as pointed out by Narain.[49]

Tarn places these coins "at least two generations later than the death of Hermaeus."[50]

A.K. Narain, on the basis of a statement in the *Hou-Han-Shu* says that it is almost certain that the Kuṣāṇas took the Kabul valley from the Pahlavas, and not from the Indo-Greek, Hermaios. The statement goes, "Kao-fu was never dependent on the Yueh-chih, and it is therefore a mistake of the Han book (i.,e., the *Ch'ien Han Shu*) when it includes it (in the lands of) the five *hsi-hou*. Later on it fell under the dependency of *An-hsi*, (Parthia), and it was when the Yueh-chih triumphed over An-hsi, that they for the first time took Kao-fu."[51] He accepts Bachhofer's view that Kadphises I imitated those coin-types which were best known and most readily accepted.[52] Narain says that Bachhofer's view gains strength from the fact that some issues of Kadphises I bear the bust of a Roman emperor.[53] A.S. Altekar has also come out in favour of this theory,[54] and says that Kadphises I copied the type of Hermaios because "The people were accustomed to this type and the new conqueror realised that there was a chance for his currency being accepted by the public, only if it resembled the old one in its essential features."[55] Altekar has published five coins from Takṣaśilā,[56] which are very crude in execution, and the portraits on these coins bear very little, if any, resemblance to that of Hermaios.

He says that the "crudeness of art, the absence of any recognisable resemblance in features, and the total degradation of the Greek legend on the obverse make it clear that these coins could not have been issued as a joint coinage of Hermaios and Kujula Kadphises. They were obviously issued some decades after the passing away of Hermaios, whose coin-type is sought to be continued on them."[57]

Bhaskar Chattopadhyay supports this view, and says that the Parthians intervened between the Indo-Greeks and the Kuṣāṇas, which is made probable by numismatic evidence. Some coins of Spalirises have the characteristic device of the Greek princes of Kabul, i.e., "Zeus enthroned". Justin also states that the Bactrian Greeks were finally defeated by the Parthians.[58] Chattopadhyay regards the coins with the names of Hermaios and Kujula Kadphises as "actually the continuation of the Parthian imitations of the coins of Hermaeus by the Kushāṇa chief (Yavuga) who, according to Hou-Han-Shu, destroyed the Parthian power in Kabul."[59]

Recently, the theory of joint coinage has been revived by Baldev Kumar, who says that earlier, Kadphises I was associated in government with Hermaios as a subordinate, for his name appears in the Kharoṣṭhī script on the reverse of the coins bearing the name in Greek, and the bust of Hermaios on the obverse. Later, Kadphises I ruled independently, but after a short interval of time, when Gondophernes, the Parthian king ruled over Kabul.[60] He suggests that Hermaios was defeated by Gondophernes, the ruler of Arachosia, and sought shelter with Kadphises I, who attacked Gondophernes in Kabul as an ally of Hermaios, defeated the Parthian, and drove him out of Kabul. It was during the period that ensued that the coins bearing the names of both Hermaios and Kujula Kadphises were issued conjointly by the two rulers. Later,

Kadphises I replaced Hermaios, and enjoyed full sovereign powers in the whole of the empire.[61] According to him, "The fact that many coin specimens of Hermaios, Kujula Kadphises and the joint issues are found in strata dating after Gondophernes,[62] should not occasion any surprise, because the three kings were contemporaries, and the reign of Gondophernes preceded that of Kujula Kadphises in the area".[63]

There are, however, some difficulties in accepting this theory. In order to make Hermaios, Gondophernes, and Kujula Kadphises contemporaries, he assigns to Hermaios a very later date. Then, if Hermaios had sought shelter with Kadphises I, as is suggested by him, how is it that his name and bust occupy the place of honour on the obverse of the coins ?

Therefore, it appears that the coins under discussion are not joint coins. Of course, it is possible that Hermaios on being attacked by Gondophernes, sought the help of Kujula Kadphises, and together, they repulsed the Parthian invasion. As a token of gratitude, Hermaios mentioned the name of Kujula Kadphises on the reverse of his coins. Later, however, Kujula Kadphises removed Hermaios from power, but retained his bust on coins with a view to gaining support of the people. The corrupt Greek legend on the coins mentioning Kujula Kadphises on the reverse, however, seems to rule out this possibility, for coins bearing such corrupt legends could not possibly be the issues of a Greek ruler. We shall return to these coins later.[64]

JOINT ISSUES OF KANIṢKA III AND OF VĀSUDEVA II

Most of the scholars accept that in the Kuṣāṇa dynasty, there were at least three rulers bearing the name of Kaniṣka, and two with the name of Vāsudeva.[65] The coins of the later Kuṣāṇa

rulers, Kaniṣka III (Kaneṣko) and Vāsudeva II are very interesting in that they bear on the obverse Brāhmī letter(s), one each in the left, central, and right fields. In the left field, the letter is near the right foot of the king. In the centre, it is between the king's feet. In the right field, it is outside the king's spear or trident.

The coins of Kaniṣka III and Vāsudeva II do not show much variety. The obverse invariably shows the king, diademed and nimbate, standing facing left. He wears a tall and pointed cap, long coat, and trousers, offering oblations at an altar with his right hand, while the left hand holds a spear or a trident. A trident with ribbons is also seen behind the altar. The Greek legend on the obverse reads PAONANOPAO KANHPKO KOPANO in case of the coins of Kaniṣka III, or PAONANOPAO BAZOΔHO KOPANO in case of the coins of Vāsudeva II. All the coins bear on the obverse the symbol of Vāsudeva I.[66]

On the reverse of the coins of Kaniṣka III, there are only two types : that of the goddess APΔOXPO seated on a high backed throne with noose in the right hand and cornucopiae in the left hand, and the legend APΔOXPO : and that of the standing god Śiva reclining against a humped bull with the *pāśa* in right hand, and *triśūla* in left hand, and the legend OHPO. The reverse of the coins of Vāsudeva II has the representation of Śiva with bull only.[67]

O.P. Singh [68] is of the view that a coin of Kaniṣka III[69] has the figure of *Ardhanārīśvara* on the reverse, which Whitehead has described as that of Śiva. He says that the left breast of the deity is well-developed; the left leg is released in an easy, feminine manner; this leg is covered up to the calf with folds, possibly of a *sārī*.[70] The left part of the deity is female, and the right part is male.

Thus, "it was most probably an early representation of Ardhanārīśvara form of Śiva."[71]

The legend on this reverse is, however, OHPO. As O.P. Singh himself points out, had the representation been that of *Ardhanārīśvara*, the legend would possibly have been NANA - OHPO.[72] Savita Sharma and Maruti Nandan Tiwari are of the view that the "emphasis on the left breast is not significant because it was not intentional."[73]. The deity here is shown holding a *pāśa* and a *triśūla*. Had the left half of the deity represented Umā or Pārvatī, the left hand ought to have held some attribute like lotus, mirror, parrot, or sceptre, generally seen in the hand of the female half of the *Ardhanārīśvara* image.[74] Here, we would also like to point out that the *triśūla*, which ought to have been in the right - the male - hand of the deity, is here held in the left - the female - hand. Hence, the figure does not appear to be that of *Ardhanārīśvara*, but of Śiva.[75]

The occurrence of Brāhmī letters on the obverse of the coins of Kaniṣka III and Vāsudeva II is very interesting. We have several letters on the coins of these two rulers as given in Tables I and II.[76]

Cunningham has suggested that these Brāhmī letters occurring on the obverse of these coins might stand for the initials of the names of the different satraps and provincial governors who were issuing coins conjointly with their emperor. He further suggests that the letters *Viru* occurring in the right field on the obverse of some coins [78]might represent *Virudpaka; Mahi* on another coin [79] might be the abbreviation of the name *Mahīdhara; Vāsu* of some coins,[80]that of Vāsudeva.[81] The other letters on the obverse, he says, might represent the name of the province, or city of the satrap.[82]

Table I[77]

Reverse APΔOXPO

Sl. No.	King	Brāhmī letters Right	Centre	Left	Remarks
1	Kaniṣka III	Pa	-	-	Pl. I, 1.(pl. V, 7).
2.	Kaniṣka III	Vi	-	Ha	Pl. I, 2.(pl. V, 8).
3.	Kaniṣka III	Vi	Tha	Nya	Pl. I, 3.(pl. V,9).
4.	Kaniṣka III	Viru	-	Nya	Pl. I, 4.(pl. VI,1).
5.	Kaniṣka III	Vāsu	Chu	Sa	Pl. I, 5.(pl. VI,2).
6.	Kaniṣka III	Vāsu	Ga	Sa	Pl. I, 6.(pl. VI,3).
7.	Kaniṣka III	Vāsu	Chhu	Khu	Pl. I, 7.(pl. VI,4).
8.	Kaniṣka III	Vāsu	Ga	Bha	Pl. I, 8.(pl.VI,5).
9.	Kaniṣka III	Chhu	Thā	Vai	Pl. I, 9.(pl.VI,6).
10.	Kaniṣka III	Si	Thā	Vai	Pl. I, 10.(pl. VI, 7).
11.	Kaniṣka III	Mahi	Pu	-	Pl. I, 11.(pl. VI,8).
12.	Kaniṣka III	Bhṛi	-	-	Pl. I, 12.(pl. VI,9).

Cunningham says that it is known that V'ima Kadphises conquered [North-western part of] India, and appointed his "generals" as governors in the conquered provinces. This system of administration was continued by Kaniṣka, Huviṣka, and Vāsudeva I, and also probably by their successors. It is the initials of the names of these provincial governors that appear on the obverse of the coins of Kaniṣka III and Vāsudeva II, thus making them joint issues.

Table II[77a]

Reverse OHPO

Sl. No.	*King*	*Brāhmī letters* *Right*	*Centre*	*Left*	*Remarks*
1.	Kaniṣka III	Hu	Gho	Ga	Pl. I, 16 (pl. VI, 10).
2.	Kaniṣka III	Auṁ	Tha	Ha	Pl. I, 17.(pl. VI, 11).
3.	Kaniṣka III	Phṛi	Gho	Ga	Pl. I, 18.(pl. VI, 12).
4.	Kaniṣka III	Suṁ	Tha	Ha	PMC, Vol. I, Pl. XIX, 231. (Pl. VI, 13).
5.	Vāsudeva II	Ha	-	-	Pl. I, 13. (Pl. VI, 14).
6.	Vāsudeva II	Rada	Gho	Raja	Pl. I, 14. (Pl. VII, 1).
7.	Vāsudeva II	Pṛi	-	-	Pl. I, 15. (Pl. VII, 2).

Though the names like Virudpaka,[83] Vāsudeva, and Mahīdhara[84] are genuine Indian names, yet the provincial governors appointed by Kaniska III and Vāsudeva II might or might not have been Indians, as some foreigners also bore Indian names.[85]

It has been suggested[86] that some of the Brāhmī letters on the obverse of the coins under discussion might possibly represent

the initials of the names of provinces and cities from which the coins were issued, or were meant for circulation. In this manner, *Pa* might stand for Puruṣapura, *Na* for Nagarahāra, *Ga* for Gandhāra, *Chu* for the Chutsa tribe, and *Khu* for the Kṣudraka tribe.[87]

However, it may be seen that some Brāhmī letters occur in the right field as well as in the central field. For example, the letter *Chhu* occurs in the right field on one coin,[88] and in the central field on another coin [89]. Similarly,the letter *Ga* occurs in the centre on one coin,[90] and in the left field on another.[91] To us, it appears that the letters in the right, central, and left fields represent the initials of three different officers of three different designations. That the letters in the right field represent the initials of the provincial governors seems to be indicated from the occurrence of the name of Vāsu [deva], who appears to be the son of Kaniṣka III,[92] in the right field. It appears that *Ga* at one time held the post represented by letter in the left field, and at another time, the post represented by the letter in the centre. Similarly, *Chhu*, who was once an officer whose initials occupied the central field, later became a provincial governor, and we find his name in the right field.

Cunningham has suggested that the coins bearing the figure of APΔOXPO on the reverse "are specially common in North-West India, while the Śiva (OHPO) coins come principally from the West. The former belonged to the Eastern provinces, the latter to the western provinces of the Kushan Empire."[93].

The coins of Kaniṣka III bearing the name of Vāsudeva come principally from Seistan, and it has been suggested that Vāsudeva was the governor of that province.[94] Vīrupākṣa and Mahīdhara probably governed parts of the Punjab and Afghanistan, as it appears from the provenance of the coins of Kaniṣka III

bearing their names.[95] It has also been suggested that either Vīrupākṣa, or Mahīdhara, or both, might have been brothers of Vāsudeva II.[96]

Altekar has suggested [97]that as Vāsudeva II issued coins only with OHPO reverse, which were popular in Bactria and Afghanistan[98] and no coins with APΔOXPO reverse which were popular in Gandhāra, Seistan, and the Punjab,[99] he seems to have lost these provinces, and to have controlled the remaining provinces of his empire through the governors, whose initials are given on his coins as *Rada, Pṛi*, and *Ha*. Incidently the initial of the name *Ha* occurs in the left field on some coins of Kaniska III,[100] but in the right field on a coin of Vāsudeva II,[101]from which it would appear that he had become a provincial governor only in the reign of Vāsudeva II. Earlier, he seems to have served Kaniṣka III as an officer whose initial occurred in the left field.

Altekar also suggests that the appearance of the names of the provincial governors on the coins of Kaniṣka III and Vāsudeva II shows that these "satraps were getting more assertive even in the Punjab, and that the central government found it necessary to appease them by allowing their initials on the imperial coinage,"[102] thus making it joint coinage. No doubt after the death of Kaniṣka III, some of the provincial governors asserted independence, and Vāsudeva II had no need to issue coins with APΔOXPO reverse, for the provinces where these coins were popular, he had already lost.

Thus, these coins throw interesting light on the political history of the later Kuṣāṇa emperors, and give us an idea of their administration.

GAḌAHARA JOINT COINS

There are some coins issued by the Gaḍahara (or Gaḍakhara) tribe, which bear the Brāhmī word *Kirada* in the central field. The coins may be described as follows :

Obv. : King standing at altar; dressed as on the Kuṣāṇa coins; offering oblations at altar with the r. hand; holding spear in l. hand. Brāhmī words in left field, *Kapan*; in the middle, *Kirada*; in the right field, *Gaḍahara.* Gr. legend illegible and meaningless.

Rev. : Seated goddess ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ to front. Brāhmī legend : *Ghaṣa Yaṣa.*[103]

Gold. Round. (Pl. VII, 3).

Thomas described the letters outside the king's spear, i.e., in the right field, which is read as Gaḍahara, as the name of a tribe of the Scythians, and the letters under king's arm, i.e., in the middle, which is read as *Kirada,* as the name of a king or military chief located in India.[104]

Cunningham, however, regards the word in the right field "as indicating places, the seats of distinct Satrapies"[105] and interprets *Gaḍahara* as *Nagarahāra.*[106] But it is now generally accepted by scholars that Thomas' suggestion is correct, and that Gaḍahara is the name of a tribe.[107]

The name *Kirada* is often found as a variant on the coins of the Kidāra-Kuṣāṇas. R.D. Banerji has associated the Gaḍahara coins with the Kidāra-Kuṣāṇas on this basis, and also because of the appearance of the Brāhmī *Ga* of the fifth century A.D. on the Gaḍahara coins, and of the syllable *Kṣuṇa* on both the Gaḍahara

and the *Kidāra-Kuṣāṇa coins.*[108]

It has been suggested on the basis of the occurrence of the name *Kirada* (= Kidāra) on the Gaḍahara coins that the Gaḍaharas were, for some time, tributary to the Kidāra-Kuṣāṇas.[109] This very well accounts for the occurrence of the joint names of *Kirada* (= Kidāra) and *Gaḍahara* on the Gaḍahara coins. If this be accepted, this coin-type may be regarded as a joint issue of the Gaḍaharas and their overlords, the Kidāra-Kuṣāṇas.

The Gaḍahara tribe appears to have had to accept the suzerainty of the Kidāra-Kuṣāṇas. But when the power of the Kidāra-Kuṣāṇas was on the decline because of their submission to the Sassanian rulers of the west, the Gaḍaharas seem to have switched their allegiance from the Kidāra-Kuṣāṇas to the Imperial Guptas,[110] who had become the paramount power in North India under Samudragupta, for a Gaḍahara coin is known to bear the name of Samudra [gupta] on the obverse.

Obv. : King, dressed in the Kuṣāṇa style, offering oblations at an altar with the r. hand; spear in the l. hand; Brāhmī letters *Pu* in left field, *Samudra* in the middle, and *Gaḍahara* in the right field.

Rev. : Seated goddess APΔOXPO to front.[111]

Gold. Round. (Pl. VII, 4).

The name *Samudra* occurring on the obverse of this coin might be the name of a Gaḍahara chief. But it is generally taken to stand for Samudragupta, the Imperial Gupta ruler, to whom the Gaḍaharas seem to have submitted.

According to R.D. Banerji, "The resemblance between this coin and the coins of Samudra-gupta is so great that it is possible to say that the Gaḍahara tribe at least acknowledged the

suzerainty of the great conqueror and placed his name on their coins."[112]

R.C. Majumdar also observes, "Samudra-gupta had probably already imposed his suzerainty on some petty Kushāṇa states in the Punjab, for his name occurs on the coin of a Gaḍahara chief."[113] Altekar finds in the Brāhmī script used on the Gaḍahara coin bearing the name *Samudra,* no sufficient ground for not placing it during Samudragupta's reign.[114]

As such, the coin bearing the name of Samudragupta and *Gaḍahara* is a joint issue of these two. Incidently, it may be remarked here that Smith has described a coin bearing the legend *Gaḍahara* and a name tentatively read as *Chandra*[115] identified with Chandragupta II.[116]

ṢĀKA AND ṢILĀDA COINS WITH THE SYMBOL OF VĀSUDEVA I

On the reverse of the coins of some of the Ṣāka and Ṣilāda kings, we find the symbol of Vāsudeva I,[117] which also occurs in a slightly modified form,[118] on the reverse of the coins of some of these kings.

The coins of these Ṣāka and Ṣilāda chiefs are all of the same type, with the obverse depicting king of the Kuṣāṇa type at altar, holding spear, with Brāhmī letters in the right, central, and left parts of the field. The reverse has the type of seated ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ, with traces of the name of the goddess in corrupt Greek script. An account of the tribe, name of king, and monogram, with references, has been given in Table III.

The presence of the symbol of Vāsudeva I on the coins of these Ṣāka and Ṣilāda kings seems to suggest that during the

reigns of these chiefs, the Ṣāka and Ṣilāda tribes were tributaries to the later Great Kuṣāṇas. It might also be suggested that as only the symbol of Vāsudeva I appears on these coins, the suzerainty of the later Great Kuṣāṇas over the Ṣāka and Ṣilāda chiefs was most probably nominal. As such, these coins might be treated as joint issues.

Table III[119]

	Brāhmī letters			
Sl. No.	*Right (name of tribe)*	*Centre (name of King)*	*Left*	*Reference*
1.	*Ṣāka*	*Saya*	*Vi*	IMC, Vol. I, p. 89, nos.4,5.
2.	*Ṣāka*	*Sita*	*Bha*	Ibid., nos. 6-8 pl. XIV, 6. (pl. VII, 5).
3.	*Ṣāka*	*Sita*	*Vi*	IMC, Vol I p. 89,no. 10.
4.	*Ṣāka*	*Saṇa* [120]	*Vi*	*Ibid.*, no. 11, pl. XIV, 7. (pl. VII, 6).
5.	*Ṣilāda*[121]	*Bhadra*	-	*IMC*, Vol. I, p. 88, nos. 2,2,a
6.	*Ṣilāda*	*Bacharṇa*	?	Ibid., p. 89 no. 12, pl. XIV,8 (pl. VII, 7).
7. 89,	*Ṣilāda*	*Pāṣaṇa*[122]		IMC, Vol.I, p. no. 14.

References

1. *BMC,GSKBI*, pp. 120-121, Pl. XXV, 1, 2; *PMC*, Vol. I, pp. 178-179, Pl. XVII, 1; *IMC*, Vol. I, pp. 33-34, Pl. VI, 14; *CCK*, p. 26, Pl. XIV, 3.
2. The corrupt Greek legend varies from coin to coin. See *BMC,GSKBI*, p. 122. Also, on four coins from Sirkap, the bust of Hermaios is turned to left instead of to right. See *Taxila*, Vol. II, p. 785.
3. *BMC,GSKBI*, p. 122, Pl. XXV, 3, 4; *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 179, Pl. XVII, 8; *IMC*, Vol. I, pp. 65-66, Pl. XI, 1; *CCK*, p. 26, Pl. XIV, 4.
4. *CCK*, p. 26.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
7. Two notes on Indian Numismatics, *JRAS*, 1897, p. 319: also *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 506.
8. *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 178, fn. 1.
9. *BMC, GSKBI*, p. 187.
10. *C II*, Vol. II, Pt. I, pp. LX III- LXIV.
11. *GBI*, p. 504.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *CII*, Vol. II, Pt . I, p. 6, no. III. Dr Thaplyal also interprets this *su* as king See *Studies in Ancient Indian Seals*, p. 42.
14. See *GBI*, p.503.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 504.
16. *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. I, 1938-39, pp. 269-271.
17. Baldev Kumar, *The Early Kuṣāṇas*, p. 29.
18. See the coins of Kaniska I, Huviska, and others in *PMC*, Vol. I.
19. *CASE*, pp. 14-15.
20. Satya Shrava, *The Kushāṇa Numismatics*, p. 62. Cf. Baldev Kumar, *The Early Kuṣāṇas*, p. 26; PMC, Vol. I, p. 173.
21. *JRAS*, Vol. XX, p. 240.
22. *BMC,GSKBI*, p. 123, Pl. XXV, 5.
23. *CASE*, p. 15, Cf. *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 181, fn. 1; Baldev Kumar, *The Early Kuṣāṇas*, p. 26.

24. See *supra*, Type 1.
25. See *supra*, Type 2.
26. *CASE*, Part I - The Greeks of Bactriana, Ariana, and India, Introduction, pp. 23-24.
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.
28. *CCK*, p. 7.
29. *CASE*, Part I - The Greeks of Bactriana, Ariana, and India, Introduction, p. 29.
30. At Sirkap alone, 2,106 coins of the type "Bust of Hermaios: Herakles" have been found, *Taxila*, Vol. II, p. 785.
31. *CASE*, Part I - The Greeks of Bactriana, Ariana, and India, Introduction, pp. 23-24.
32. *PMC*, Vol. I, p.7.
33. *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 172-173.
34. *IMC*, Vol. I, pp. 4, 63.
35. *Indian Coins*, p. 16.
36. *The Scythian Period*, pp. 362-364.
37. *Bégram*, pp. 120-121.
38. *CII*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. LXIV.
39. *JNSI*, Vol. XXIII, p. 250.
40. *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. I, 1938-39, p. 273.
41. *JRAS*, 1906, p. 194, fn. 1.
42. *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 506.
43. *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 507.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 506.
45. *JIH*, Vol. I, p. 29.
46. *Taxila*, Vol. I, pp. 66-75.
47. *The Scythian Period*, pp. 356, 362-64.
48. *Bégram*, pp. 120-121.
49. Cf. Narain *IG*, p. 159.

50. *GBI*, pp. 503-04.

51. Book 88.

52. *JAOS*, 1941, p. 240.

53. *IG*, p. 161.

54. *JNSI*, Vol. IX, Pt. I, pp. 6-7.

55. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

56. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10, Pl. IB, 1-5.

57. *JNSI*, Vol. IX, Pt. I, p.8.

58. *The Age of the Kushāṇas - A Numismatic Study*, pp. 18-20.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 21. Also see B.N. Puri, *India Under the Kushāṇas*, pp. 15-16.

60. *The Early Kuṣāṇas*, pp. 25-26.

61. *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28; cf. D.C. Sircar, *AIU*, p. 138, and fn. 3, where Sircar says that Hermaios had entered into an alliance with Kadphises I against the Pahlavas. Kadphises I probably subdued the other four Yueh-chi principalities with the help of Hermaios. But Hermaios was overthrown by the Scytho-Parthians inspite of the help from his subordinate ally. Kadphises I, however, later defeated the Parthians, and drove them out of Kabul. This success he achieved "as a champion of the cause of his dead overlord".

62. *ASIAR*, 1929-30, p. 56.

63. *The Early Kuṣāṇas*, pp. 27-28.

64. See *infra*, Chapter VII.

65. Cf. Smith, *IMC*, Vol. I, pp. 87-88; Whitehead, *PMC*, Vol.I, pp. 211-212; Cunningham, *NC*, 1893, pp. 93-128, 176- 202; 1894, pp. 242-293, especially, p. 276.

66. It is this symbol that shows that the Kaniṣka mentioned here is a successor of Vāsudeva I, i.e., Kaniṣka III, as distinguished from the two earlier kings of the same name. See Altekar in *VGA*, p. 13, fn. 1.

67. See Cunningham, *Later Indo-Scythians*, p. 118. Also, *PMC*, Vol. I, pp. 211-212, Pl. XIX, 231; *IMC*, Vol. I, pp. 87-88, Pl. XIV, 1,2 (Kaniṣka III) ; p. 88, Pl. XIV, 3 (Vāsudeva II).

68. *JNSI*, Vol. XXX, pp. 195-198.

69. *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 211, Pl. XIX, 231.

70. *JNSI*, Vol. XXX, p. 196.

71. *Ibid.*, p. 198.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 196.

73. *JNSI*, Vol. XLV, p. 146.

74. *JNSI*, Vol. XLV, pp. 146-147.

75. In a personal communication with Savita Sharma and Maruti Nandan Tiwari, Prof. Joe Cribb, Keeper of the Department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum, expressed the view that the emphasis on the left breast is because of poor engraving, and that this is a usual Śiva figure. See *JNSI*, Vol.XLV, p. 146, fn. 5.

76. The coins have not been described here individually because, as stated earlier, the obverse device is invariably the same. We have two varieties of the reverse device - APΔOXPO and OHPO- on the coins of Kaniṣka III. The Tables - I and II - have been prepared on the basis of this variety of the reverse device.

77. Based on the Table given by Cunningham, *Later Indo-Scythians*, p. 119. The references - without brackets-to plates in the last column of the Table here are also from *Later Indo-Scythians*, unless otherwise stated. The plate and coin numbers given in brackets in the last column refer to illustrations given by us.

77a. Based on the Table given by Cunningham, *Later Indo-Scythians* p. 120. References - without brackets - to plates in the last column of the Table here are from *Later Indo-Scythians*, unless otherwise stated. The plate and coin numbers given in brackets in the last column refer to illustrations given by us.

78. See Table I, 4.

79. See Table I, 11.

80. See Table I, 5-8.

81. This Vāsudeva was most probably Vāsudeva II, who succeeded Kaniṣka III. Vāsudeva II seems first to have served under his father in the capacity of a provincial governor (see *VGA*, p. 14). R.D. Banerji

has tried to show that the *Vāsu* mentioned on these coins was different from Vāsudeva II (See *JASB,NS*, IV, pp. 87-88). He does not seem to be justified in his view. See *VGA*, p. 14, fn. 2.

82. *Later Indo-Scythians*, pp. 116-117,119.

83. It may also be Vīrupākṣa. See Bhaskar Chattopadhyay, *The Age of the Kushāṇas - A Numismatic Study*, p. 99.

84. Altekar also suggests Mahīśvara as a possible form of the letters *Mahi*. *VGA*, p. 14.

85. Cunningham, *Later Indo-Scythians*. p. 117.

86. Altekar, *VGA*, p. 14, Cf. Cunningham, *Later Indo-Scythians*, p. 119.

87. *JASB,NS*, IV, p. 84.

88. See Table I, 9.

89. See Table I, 7.

90. See Table I, 8.

91. See Table II, 1.

92. *VGA*, p. 14.

93. *Later Indo-Scythians*, p. 116.

94. *JASB,NS*, IV, pp. 83-86.

95. *VGA*, p. 15.

96. *Ibid*., p. 14.

97. *Ibid*., p. 16.

98. *Ibid*., p. 15.

99. *Ibid*., p. 16.

100. *Later Indo-Scythians*, Pl. I, 2, 17.

101. *Ibid*., Pl. I, 13.

102. *VGA*, p. 16.

103. Cunningham, *Later Indo-Scythians*, Pl. II, 10. Thomas (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol XII, p. 8) explains the female figure as Ardha-nārī, or Ardhanārīśvara. Cunningham rejects this explanation, and regards it as a figure of Ardochsho. See *Later Indo-Scythians*, p. 124.

104. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XII, pp. 6-11.

105. *Later Indo-Scythians*, pp. 120-121.
106. *Ibid.*, pp. 122-123.
107. See R.C. Majumdar, *CA*, p. 57; Altekar, *VGA*, p. 20.
108. *JASB,NS*, IV, p. 92.
109. See Bhaskar Chattopadhyay, *The Age of the Kushāṇas - A Numismatic Study*, p. 106.
110. See *Ibid.*, pp. 105, 106.
111. Cunningham, *Later Indo-Scythians*, Pl. II, 11.
112. *JASB,NS*, IV, p. 93.
113. *CA*, p. 57.
114. See Bhaskar Chattopadhyay, *The Age of the Kushāṇas - A Numismatic Study*, p. 106.
115. *JRAS*, 1893, p. 145.
116. Is it possible that Gaḍahara was the name of a tribal chief who first served under the Kidāra-Kuṣāṇas, then asserted independence, and finally, surrendered to Samudragupta? After the death of Samudragupta, he might have continued to serve under Chandragupta II.
117. *IMC*, Vol. I, Pl. VII, 162.
118. *Ibid.*, Pl. VII, 165.
119. The plate and coin numbers given in brackets in the last column of the Table here refer to illustrations given by us.
120. It has also been read as *Sena*. See Bhaskar Chattopadhyay, *The Age of the Kushāṇas - A Numismatic Study*, p. 106.
121. Smith reads it as *Ṣālada*. See *IMC*, Vol. I, pp. 88-89, nos. 1, 12, 14.
122. The name has been read by Smith as *Pāsaka*. See *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 89, no. 14. Others read it as *Pāṣaṇa*. See Bhaskar Chattopadhyay, *The Age of the Kushāṇas - A Numismatic Study*, p. 106.

4

INDIGENOUS JOINT ISSUES OF THE PRE-GUPTA PERIOD

There are certain joint issues of the pre-Gupta period, which we shall discuss here in a chronological order. In the Pañchāla series of coins, there is a joint coin of Damagupta and Vaṅgapāla. As Vaṅgapāla appears to have flourished in c. 150 B.C.,[1] we shall take up this Pañchāla joint issue first of all. The reign of the Sātavāhana ruler Śātakarṇi I is generally placed at the end of the first century B.C.,[2] and so, the Sātavāhana joint issue of Śātakarṇi I and his queen Nāganikā is being discussed after the Pañchāla joint coin. The alleged joint issue of Devamitra and Āyumitra in the Ayodhya series of coins is placed last of all, because these rulers are believed to have flourished after the end of the Kuṣāṇa rule in eastern U.P.[3]

PAÑCHĀLA JOINT ISSUE

The Pañchāla coins "form one of the longest and most uniform series of ancient Indian coins."[4] The obverse is invariably the same , with the three Pañchāla symbols, S1, S2, and S3, and the king's name in the genitive below the symbol, the whole "in a square die impressed on a round coin, in the incuse."[5] The reverse device comprises a deity or a symbol of a deity on a pedestal, with railing in front, and pillars on either side.[6]The name of the deity on

the reverse "forms as a rule a component of the issuer's name", this deity being the patron deity of the issuing king.[7]

M.B.L. Dar published a Pañchāla coin bearing the name of Vaṅgapāla on the obverse, and that of Damagupta on the reverse.[8]

Obv. : The three Pañchāla symbols,S1, S2, S3, *on the top; king's name "Tagapalasa"*[9] in Brāhmī below; partially visible *chakra* symbol on the l.

Rev. : Legend *Damagutasa* in a small oblong remnant of the incuse formed on the obverse in the upper portion, the outline of the third Pañchāla symbol placed as a first symbol, and is countermarked with the symbol found on the reverse of the coins of Phalgunimitra.[10]

Copper. Round. (Pl. VII, 8).

Dar's reading of the obverse legend of this coin as *Tagapalasa* is reported to have been corrected to *Vaṅgapālasa* by Rao Bahadur K.N. Dikshit.[11] This reading has been accepted by scholars like V.S. Agrawala,[12] and A.S. Altekar.[13]

Dar took *the Damagupta-Vaṅgapāla* coin as a counterstruck piece,[14] and it has been argued that the coins of Vaṅgapāla were counterstruck by Damagupta.[15] K.M. Shrimali, however, takes them as joint issues of Vaṅgapāla and Damagupta.[16]He is of the view that in the early stage of their career, Vaṅgapāla and Damagupta ruled conjointly, which period of joint rule is represented by their joint coins. But soon they parted their ways, and ruled independently over different regions. This is represented by their independent issues. Finally, Vaṅgapāla asserted his

supremacy over Damagupta, and this is represented by a coin in the *Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford, the obverse of which "clearly shows that Vaṅgapāla overstruck the coin of a king, whose name we read as *Da(magu)tasa.*"[17] K.M. Shrimali also suggests that Damagupta and Vaṅgapāla might be two names of one and the same person, which suggestion, he himself admits, "seems highly improbable."[18] His third suggestion is that it is also likely that at first, Damagupta ruled alone, then with Vaṅgapāla, and finally, Vaṅgapāla ruled alone. But he feels that the testimony of the Ashmolean Museum coin fits in better in the first sequence suggested by him.[19] We, however, feel that Shrimali's second sequence seems to be more likely, and logical, than the first one. Damagupta seems to have associated in government one Vaṅgapāla, who appears to have overthrown Damagupta after some time, to have counterstruck the independent issues of Damagupta, and to have ruled independently.[20] This sequence of events, too, would explain the independent issues of Damagupta, the joint issues of Damagupta and Vaṅgapāla, the coin of Damagupta restruck by Vaṅgapāla, and the independent issues of Vaṅgapāla, the only problem being that on the joint issues, the name of Vaṅgapāla appears on the obverse side with the three Pañchāla symbols, and hence, he appears to have been the more important of the two.[21]

It may also be suggested that in the early stage of their respective careers, Vaṅgapāla and Damagupta ruled separately, and issued their independent coins. After some time, Vaṅgapāla seems to have defeated Damagupta, to have restruck the independent issues of the latter, and to have associated him in government as a subordinate ruler. This would explain the presence of the name of Vaṅgapāla on the obverse of the joint coin issued by Vaṅgapāla and Damagupta. We feel that this sequence of events better fits in

with the combined testimony of the independent issues of Damagupta and of Vaṅgapāla, with the Ashmolean Museum coin of Damagupta (?) restruck by Vaṅgapāla, and the joint issue of Vaṅgapāla and Damagupta mentioning the former on the obverse, thus denoting that he was most probably the more important of the two.[22]

SĀTAVĀHANA JOINT ISSUES

We now come to an interesting Sātavāhana coin bearing the names of Śātakarṇi [I] and Nāganikā.

Obv. : Brāhmī legend, beginning at X : *Raṁño Siri-Sāta-[ka]*; below, within an oblong enclosure, Brāhmī legend : *Nāganikāya*; to l., figure of a horse[23] with head off the flan.

Rev. : "Ujjain symbol with a *Svastika* in each single-lined orb. A pellet between the orbs of the symbol." To l., "a spear like object, with a lathe-worked grip and two projections on the shaft."[24]

Silver. Round. (Pl. VII, 9).

This coin is the earliest known silver coin of the Sātavāhanas.[25] As the obverse legend gives the names of both Śātakarṇi [I] and Nāganikā, it has been suggested that the coin-type was a joint issue of this king and his queen.[26] Mirashi is of the view that this joint issue of Śātakarṇi [I] and Nāganikā shows that Nāganikā had great influence and power in the government of the Sātavāhana kingdom.[27]

There is, however, some controversy regarding the relationship between Śātakarṇi I and Nāganikā. Nāganikā is regarded as the queen of Śātakarṇi I by most of the scholars.

Katare, however, suggested that she was the mother of Śātakarṇi I,[28] as the figure of Nāganikā is seen before that of Śātakarṇi at Naneghat. It has also been suggested that she acted as a queen-regent for her son.[29] Mirashi, however, rules this out. He suggests that the image of Nāganikā was sculpted before that of the king because of the prestige in which the queen was held.[30] He takes the discovery, from Junnar, of this coin bearing the names of Śātakarṇi [I] and Nāganikā as proof of Nāganikā's being the wife of Śātakarṇi I[31] P.J. Chinmulgund, who first published this coin, also used the evidence of this coin to show that Nāganikā was the wife of Śātakarṇi I.

According to Chinmulgund[32] and Mirashi[33], the figure of the horse seen on the obverse of this coin refers to the *Aśvamedha*, and they suggest that this coin was issued on the occasion of the horse-sacrifice performed by *Śātakarṇi* I. The Naneghat Inscription of Nāganikā refers to two *Aśvamedhas* performed by Śātakarṇi I.[34] Chinmulgund says that the spear-like object with a grip, which, according to him, represents the *sūchi* used by the queen during *Aśvamedha*, also points at the celebration of the horse-sacrifice being depicted on this coin. The *sūchi* on this coin is quite similar to that seen on the Aśvamedha type coins of Samudragupta.[35] But while the Gupta Aśvamedha type coins show the figure of the chief-queen on the reverse, but her name is not mentioned on the coins, the Śātakarṇi I - Nāganikā coin mentions the name of the queen, but her figure is not depicted on the coin.[36] Chinmulgund argues that only the *mahiṣī*, who had an important function to perform during the *Aśvamedha*, would be represented on the coins issued on the occasion of a horse-sacrifice. As the name of Nāganikā is mentioned on this coin, she can only be the queen of Śātakarṇi I. This argument seems to be very logical, as well as

forceful.

Chinmulgund does not regard the Śātakarṇi I - Nāganikā coin as a joint issue,[37] and is of the view that her name is mentioned on this coin, issued on the occasion of the *Aśvamedha*, because of the part she had played as the *mahiṣī* during the sacrifice. If this be accepted, the coin is only a commemorative medallion celebrating the *Aśvamedha(s)* performed by Śātakarṇi I. But it is equally possible that the Śātakarṇi I - Nāganikā coin is a joint issue, for it is well-known that Nāganikā was an influential person in the Sātavāhana administration. The coin may be a joint issue, as well as a commemorative medallion.

AYODHYA JOINT ISSUE

The Ayodhya coins get their name from the fact that most of them have been found on that site.[38] These coins are of three distinct classes, with the first class being represented by "a few rare cast coins"; [39] the second class by square cast coins, purely indigenous in style, with bull (or rarely, elephant) before symbol on obverse, and a group of five or six symbols on reverse;[40] the third is represented by round die-struck pieces with "seal-like impression characteristic of early Indian struck coins,"[41] with bull on obverse, and a bird on reverse. The coins of Class III are quite distinct from those of Class II, and are generally taken to be the issues of two separate dynasties.[42]

A coin belonging to Class III is very interesting in that it bears the names of two rulers, Devamitra and Āyumitra on the obverse.

We shall now describe this coin.

Obv. : Humped bull standing to l., before *yūpa*;[43]a fillet hanging from the *yūpa*; Brāhmī letters *Śrī* below head of bull. Below the animal, Brāhmī legend in two lines :

Devamitrasa

Ayumi.

Rev. : Standard surmounted by peacock[44] *(mayūra-dhvaja)*, in l. field; palm tree in r.; below, a curved line.[45]

Copper. Round. (Pl. VII, 10).

This is perhaps the first coin from Ayodhya to clearly bear the names of two rulers on a single piece[46] though traces of Brāhmī letters in a second line of legend have been noticed by Smith[47] and also by K.D. Bajpai[48] and hence, they regard the coins as double struck. But to O.P. Singh, "the occurrence of both names on the obverse of present coin is, decidedly, significant."[49] He feels that this coin might possibly be a joint issue of Devamitra ad Āyumitra.[50] On this basis, O.P. Singh suggests that it is possible that Āyumitra, who first ruled alone, later ruled in association with Devamitra, and this period of joint-rule was followed by the rule of Devamitra alone.[51] We, however, feel that as the name of Devamitra occurs in the first line, while that of Āyumitra in the second line, Devamitra would appear to be the senior of the two. Bela Lahiri places Āyumitra after Devamitra, but with Satyamitra in between the two.[52] But if the present coin is a joint coin of Devamitra and Āyumitra, as suggested by O.P. Singh, there would appear to be no place for the reign of Satyamitra between those of Devamitra and Āyumitra. To us, the sequence of events seems to be (a) Devamitra, (b) Devamitra with Āyumitra, and (c) Āyumitra. From

the extreme rarity of the independent issues of Devamitra,[53] it would appear that the independent rule of Devamitra was a very short one.

However, a semicircle with one spoke attached with the bull's head, another semicircle behind the bull's hump, a symbol like the Brāhmī *pa* below this second semicircle, another symbol like the Brāhmī *śra* below the head of the bull, the clearly discernible restriking on the letter *ya* of the second line of the Brāhmī legend on the obverse, and the traces of an earlier impression on the reverse, have led O.P. Singh to suggest that the coin might be a coin of Āyumitra restruck by Devamitra.[54] On this basis, he says that Devamitra dethroned Āyumitra, and restruck his coins. In support of this suggestion, he opines that Devamitra struck his peacock-standard in place of the peacock of Āyumitra; that the letters *va* and *ma* of *Devamitra* in the obverse legend are palaeographically more advanced, and belong almost to the post-Kuṣāṇa period; and that the Brāhmī letter *Śrī* below the head of the bull might symbolise the sovereignty of Devamitra, who, obverthrowing Āyumitra, had established his *Śrī*.[55]

The occurrence of this Brāhmī letter *Śrī* below the head of the bull is significant. It does not appear to be a part of the name of Devamitra, for it is inscribed separately on this coin, and on the pieces mentioning Devamitra alone, it does not occur.[56] O.P. Singh suggests[57] that the bull before *yūpa* on the obverse of the Devamitra-Āyumitra coin is suggestive of the depiction of Śūlagava Yajña, which was performed to procure "wealth, space, purity, sons, cattle, long life, splendour, etc."[58] i.e., all-round prosperity or Śrī. As such, the Brāhmī *Śrī* has to be considered in association with the obverse device of the coin.[59]

Thus, the Devamitra - Āyumitra coin might be a joint issue of these two rulers. It is also equally possible that it is a coin of Āyumitra restruck by Devamitra. If it be taken as a joint issue, it would appear that Āyumitra followed Devamitra, for the name of the former appears after the name of the latter in the obverse Brāhmī legend of the coin. But if the coin is taken as an issue of Āyumitra, restruck by Devamitra, whose name is incised in bold characters[60] on the obverse, it would appear that Devamitra came after Āyumitra.[61]

A large number of silver and copper coins of the Kuṇindas mentioning *Mahārāja Amoghabhūti* on both the obverse and the reverse have come to light.[62] Some scholars are of the view that these coins extend over several centuries (150 B.C. to 100. A.D.),[63] and thus find it difficult to regard Amoghabhūti as the name of a person. Some of the others who regard him as a king, do not ascribe all the coins to one person alone. They feel that the coins might have been issued by several kings in the name of Amoghabhūti, after his death. K.P. Jayaswal has suggested that Amoghabhūti was not the name of a king, but it appears on the Kuṇinda coins as an official title of the kings of that tribe, Amoghabhūti meaning "of unfailing prosperity".[64] The large number of these coins seems to support Jayaswal's view,[65] but Allan is of the opinion that the coins of Amoghabhūti do not extend over a considerable period.[66] As such, Jayaswal's conclusion may not be regarded as a final one,[67] and Amoghabhūti might or might not have been the name of a king.

A few years back, L.C. Gupta published some Kuṇinda coins from Ambala District in Haryana mentioning *Amoghabhūti* in the obverse Brāhmī legend and King *Prajāpati Akhyasya* in the reverse Kharoṣṭhī legend.[68]

Obv. : Standing deer to r.; female figure standing (sometimes on lotus-bloom) facing; flower in uplifted r. hand of the deity. Brāhmī legend : *Rājña Kuṇidasya Amoghabhūtisa* (around) *Mahārājasa* (below).

Rev. : Six-arched hill symbol surmounted by a single *chhatra; nandipada* on top of it; to its left, *vajra* symbol with *svastika* on top of it; to the right of the hill symbol, a conventional tree-in-railing; curved line below. Kh. legend : *Raña Kuṇidasa Prajāpati Akhyasa* (around) *Maharajasa* (below).[69]

Copper. Round.

L.C. Gupta has concluded from this coin-type that Amoghabhūti was the title of the king, and Prajāpati Akhyasya was his name.[70]

We feel that there can be two other possibilities. If Allan's view that Amoghabhūti was the name of a king is correct, it would appear from this coin that Amoghabhūti, probably towards the end of his career, associated one Prajāpati Akhyasya in government as a co-ruler after the fashion of his Scytho-Parthian and Kuṣāṇa predecessors. Again, if the view that Amoghabhūti was the name of a king and that some of the coins bearing his name were issued by his successors after his death is correct, Prajāpati Akhyasya might have been one of his successors who deviated from the tradition of mentioning the name of Amoghabhūti alone on the Kuṇinda coins, and mentioned his own name on the reverse.[71]

References

1. K.M. Shrimali, *JNSI*, Vol. XL, p. 100, fn.1.
2. D.C. Sircar, *AIU* p. 200.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 174. Allan places the rulers of this group in the first two centuries of the Christian era. See BMCAI, p. xc.

4. *BMC,AI*, p. cxvi.

5. *BMC,AI*, p. cxvi.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. cxvi-cxvii.

7. *Ibid.*, p. cxvii.

8. *JNSI*, Vol. II, p. 116.

9. This is Dar's reading of the obverse legend. See *ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*, p. 116, Pl. X-A, No. 5. For symbols S1, S2, etc., see chart at end.

11. *JNSI*, Vol. III, p. 79, fn. 1.

12. *Ibid.*

13. *JNSI*, Vol. IV, p. 20.

14. *JNSI*, Vol. II, p. 116,

15. *JNSI*, Vol. XL, p. 99; also D.C. Sircar, *AIU*, p. 172; K.D. Bajpai, *Indian Numismatic Studies*, p. 80 and fn. 22.

16. *JNSI*, Vol. XL. p. 99.

17. *Ibid.*

18. *JNSI*, Vol XL, p. 99.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 99-100.

20. Compare with the case of the Scytho-Parthian king Spalirises, who first served under this brother Vonones as a subordinate and struck coins as "King's brother", but later overthrew Vonones, restruck his coins struck in association with one of his Viceroys, and issues his independent money. See *supra*, Chapter II.

21. That the side with the name of Vaṅgapāla is the obverse is shown by the presence of the three Pañchāla symbols on this side of the joint issue.

22. See Prashant Srivastava, *JNSI*, Vol LI, pp. 56-57.

23. Mala Dutta writes 'horse (or lion ?)'. See *A Study of the Sātavāhana Coinage*, New Delhi, 1990, p.269, Type XVI.

24. *JNSI*, Vol. XXXVIII, Pt. I, pp. 6-7, Pl. I, 3; also Mirashi, *Sātavāhanon etc.*, Pt. I, pp. 223-24, Pl. 20, fig. 33 (obverse only).

25. See Mirashi, *Sātavāhanon*, etc. Pt. I, p. 224.

26. See *ibid.*, Pt. I, pp. 13, 16, 19, 223-24, Pt. II, p. 9.

27. *Ibid.*, Pt. I, p. 224.

28. *IHQ*, Vol. XXVII, p. 213; also *JNSI*, Vol. VIII, p. 19; Vol XIII, pp. 35 ff.; Vol. XIV, pp. 26 ff.; Vol. XVI; pp. 77-85 and 86-89.

29. See n.28 above.

30. He says that the Naneghat Inscription of Nāganikā reveals her importance, and the awe in which she was held. See Sātavāhanon, etc., Pt. I, p. 16.

31. It might be mentioned here that if Nāganikā was the mother of Śātakarṇi I, and was acting as his regent, her name might be mentioned on the coins issued during the period of her regency, as seen in the case of some joint issues of the Indo-Greek queen Agathokleia and her son Strato I. See *supra*, Chapter I.

32. *JNSI*, Vol XXXVIII, Pt. I, pp. 9, 11.

33. *Sātavāhanon, etc.* Pt. I, pp. 19, 224, Pt. II, p. 9.

34. *Ibid.*, Pt. I, p. 18. See text, line 11, *Ibid.*, Pt. II, p.11.

35. *CGE*, Pl. III, 6-12.

36. See *JNSI*, Vol. XXXVIII, Pt. I, p.9. Chinmulgund also suggests that Samudragupta might have struck his Aśvamedha type of coins after seeing some specimens of the Śātakarṇi I - Nāganikā coin during his *digvijaya*.

37. *JNSI*, Vol. XXXVIII, Pt. I, p.8.

38. *CAI*, p. 90; H. Rivett-Carnac in *JASB*, 1880, p. 138; *BMC,AI*, p. lxxxvii.

39. *BMC,AI*, p. lxxxvii.

40. *Ibid.*, p. lxxxviii.

41. *Ibid.*, p. lxxxix.

42. *Ibid.*, pp. lxxxviii-lxxxix; also D.C. Sircar, *AIU*, pp. 173-174.

43. Allan regards it as a standard or spear, and thinks that it closely

resembles the ceremonial spear on the Aśvamedha coins of Samudragupta. See *BMC,AI*, p. lxxxix, and fn.2.

44. Cunningham (*CAI*, pp. 93-94) identifies the bird as a cock. Smith regards it as "cock on top of post" (*IMC*), Vol. I, p.151). This view of Smith is supported by J.N. Banerjea (*DHI*, pp. 105-106, 141) and Bela Lahiri (*Indigenous States of Northern India*, p. 143). Allan suggests that it appears to be a haṁsa (*BMC,AI*, p. lxxxix). But K.D. Bajpai (*JNSI*, Vol. XXV, Pt. I, p. 109) identified the bird as a peacock. Cf. O.P. Singh, *JNSI*, Vol. XLVII, p. 13.

45. *BMAUP*, No. 40, p. 25, fig. 3; JNSI, Vol. XLVII, pp. 12-13, pl. I, 3.

46. *BMAUP*, No. 40, p. 25.

47. *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 151.

48. *Indian Numismatic Studies*, p. 96.

49. *BMAUP*, No. 40, p. 26.

50. *Ibid.*

51. *Ibid.*

52. *Indigenous States of Northern India*. p. 144.

53. *BMAUP*, No. 40, p. 26. The only known independent issue of Devamitra has been published by K.D. Bajpai, *Indian Numismatic Studies*, pp. 96-97.

54. *BMAUP*, No. 40, p. 26.

55. *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27. For the alternative explanation of the significance of the letter Śrī, see below.

56. *BMAUP*, No. 40, pp. 26-27.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

58. *Āśvalāyana Gṛihyasūtra*, IV, 8. 36.

59. *BMAUP*, No. 40, p.27.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

61. See Prashant Srivastava, Seminar Papers, *Kosala Through the Ages*, Lucknow, 1992, pp. 159-61.

62. *THAI*, pp. 91-93.

63. Smith, *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 161.

64. *Hindu Polity*, p. 70, fn. 1.

65. Cf. K.K. Dasgupta, *THAI*, p. 98.

66. *BMC,AI*, p. cii.

67. Cf. *THAI*, p. 98.

68. *JNSI*, Vol. XLV, pp. 17-19, Pls. I-III.

69. *JNSI*, Vol. XLV, p. 17.

70. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

71. These coins might be compared with the Kusano-Sassanian coins mentioning Vāsudeva [II] on one side, and the Sassanian king issuing the coin on the other side.

5

JOINT ISSUES OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTAS

The Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type of coin is the only joint coin in the whole of the Imperial Gupta coin series. K.S. Shukla published a gold coin bearing the name of *Bhānugu(pta)* on the obverse and the legend *Śrī Prakāśāditya* on the reverse,[1] and regards it as joint coin of the Gupta emperor Bhānugupta and his vassal king or viceroy, Prakāśāditya. But, as has rightly been pointed out by T.P. Verma,[2] this is not a joint issue, but the issue of the Gupta emperor Bhānugupta, whose *āditya* title was *Prakāśāditya*.[3] Thus, as stated earlier, the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī coin-type is the only known joint coin of the Imperial Guptas.

The Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī coin-type is a very controversial type, and there has been much discussion regarding its attribution. Therefore, we have discussed it in greater detail, referring to the various views. So far, various scholars have ascribed this coin-type variously to Chandragupta I, to Samudragupta, and to the Lichchhavis. If the coin is attributed to Chandragupta I, it stands proved that Gupta coinage started in his

reign. But if the coin is ascribed to Samudragupta, he becomes the originator of the Gupta coinage. Here lies a great significance of this coin-type.[4]

Regarding the find-spots of the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī coins, Altekar had remarked, "Their recorded find-spots are Mathura, Ayodhya, Lucknow, Sitapur, Tanda, Ghazipur, and Banaras in U.P. and Bayana in the Bharatpur State. It is strange that no finds of his coins should so far have been recorded in Bihar, the home province of the Gupta empire."[5]However, he himself writes in the same work[6]that one coin of the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type has been discovered in the Hajipur hoard in Bihar.[7]Recently, the discovery of a gold coin of this type has been reported from Chandraketugarh in West Bengal.[8]

We shall now describe the coin-type in detail.

Obv. : Chandragupta [I], standing facing l.; wearing trousers, head-dress, and close-fitting tailed coat; also earnings, armlets, necklace; holds crescent-topped and filleted standard in l. hand; offers with r. hand an uncertain object to Kumāradevī, who is standing facing the king to r.; wearing sāri, an upper garment, close - fitting head-dress; also earrings, necklace, armlets; r. hand akimbo; l. hand hands down; on some coins, crescent between king and queen, who are usually, but not always, nimbate.[9]Legend in Gupta Brāhmī : *Chandra* under king's l. arm, and *gupta* outside the standard; in l. field, *Śrī Kumāradevī,*[10] or *Kumāradevī-Śrī,*[11] or *Kumāradevī-Śrīḥ.*[12]

Rev. : Nimbate goddess, dressed in *sārī*, bodice, an

upper garment, also necklace, circular pearl ornament round the forehead; seated on couchant lion,[13] to r.[14] or l.;[15] both legs hang down,[16] but she is never astride the lion; her feet rest on a circular mat;[17] holds *pāśa* in r. hand, cornucopiae in l. hand; usually traces of back of throne visible behind her on l.[18] In r. field, Brāhmī legend : *Lichchhavayaḥ*, in a straight line.[19]

Gold. Round. (Pl. VII, 11; Pl. VIII, 1-4).

The identification of the deity depicted on the reverse of the coin-type here poses a difficult problem, for, as stated earlier, she holds a *pāśa* in her right hand, a cornucopiae in her left hand, and is seated on a couchant lion. The earliest depiction of goddess with lion is believed to be found on the obverse of a coin-type of Azes I,[20] and she is identified variously as Lakṣmī,[21] Pārvatī,[22] and Durgā.[23] Nana is seen riding a lion on the obverse of a coin-type of Huviṣka.[24] Again, on the reverse of a coin-type of Kaniṣka III, we find the depiction of a goddess seated on a lion.[25]

Smith does not attempt to identify the goddess on the reverse of the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type.[26] Allan describes her as Lakṣmī at one place[27] and as Lakṣmī, or Ambikā, or Durgā, at another place.[28] Altekar, like Allan,[29] suggests that Nana on lion on the coin of Huviṣka could not have served as the prototype for the deity on the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type, as the coin of Huviṣka is "rather too early."[30] He suggests that the deity on the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type is modelled partly on the goddess ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ on the Śaka coin-types[31] from where is adopted the cornucopiae in the left hand and the noose in the right hand of the goddess, and partly on the goddess seated on lion on

the coin-type of Kaniṣka III,[32]from where is adopted the lion as the mount of the goddess on the reverse of the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type. Altekar seems to be in favour of identifying this deity as Durgā.[33]

The cornucopiae in the hand of the deity seems to indicate the identity of this goddess with Lakṣmī, for cornucopiae, in Greek mythology, is the "horn of plenty" and the symbol of prosperity. In the Indian context, this attribute seems to fit in better with Lakṣmī, the goddess of prosperity.[34]But the noose and the lion-mount of the goddess tend to identify her with Durgā. Bhattacharya brought to light a reference by Hemādri to *Siṁhavāhinī* Lakṣmī.[35] R.K. Dikshit has referred to two Khajuraho sculptures depicting '*Siṁhavāhinī Gaja Lakshmī*', and a third one depicting Lakṣmī seated in the lap of Viṣṇu, with her left foot resting on a lion.[36]On this basis, he identifies the deity on the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type with "*Siṁhavāhinī Lakṣmī*". But this Lakṣmī cannot be Śaivī Lakṣmī as suggested by D.N. Shukla.[37] Shive Nandan Misra regards her as "a synthesis of these two deities - Vaishṇavī Mahālakshmī and Ādyāśakti Mahālakshmī, but conceived primarily as Vaishṇavī Mahālakshmī."[38] He cites a reference to the noose as attribute of *Ādyāśakti Mahālakṣmī* in the *Devyatharvaśīrṣa*.[39]Again, in the '*Ādyādi Śrī Mahālakshmī Hṛidaya Mahāmantra*' given in the *Atharvaṇarahasya, Vaiṣṇavi*[40] *Mahālakshmī* is described as holding a lotus-bloom and riding a lion[41] Interestingly, on the lion-slayer type of Kumāragupta I,[42] the goddess, seated on a couchant lion, holds a stalked lotus-bloom in one of her hands, and this agrees fully with the above textual description of *Vaiṣṇavī Mahālakṣmī.*

Interestingly, S.V. Sohoni takes the couchant lion on the reverse of the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type as a lion-throne

(Siṁhāsana), and recognises the deity as *Rājya-Lakṣmī.*[43]

O.P. Singh, however, identifies the godness as *Sarvamaṅgalā,*[44] for she is described in the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* as riding a lion. But, as he himself points out, the four attributes of Sarvamaṅgalā, as given in the said *Purāṇa*, are *akṣasūtra, padma, śūla*, and *kamaṇḍalu,*[45] while the goddess on the reverse of the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type holds a noose and a cornucopiae in her two hands. O.P. Singh explains this difference by saying that "the figure probably represents an evolutionary stage of the iconography of Sarvamaṅgalā."[46]

The Imperial Guptas were *Paramabhāgavatas*, i.e., devout worshipers of Viṣṇu, as is quite clear from their epigraphic records. Does this not render the identification of the deity on the reverse of the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type with Lakṣmī (or Mahālakṣmī),[47] the consort of Viṣṇu, more likely ?[48]

There is no doubt regarding the significance of the obverse device of the Chandragupta I. - Kumāradevī coin-type. It depicts the scene of the marriage of Chandragupta I and Kumāradevī. According to V.S. Pathak,[49] this is the *Saubhāgya pradāna* scene. He cites the evidence of *Hiraṇya-Keśi-Gṛihyasūtra*[50] which lays down that the bride should be seated to the right of the bridegroom at the time of marriage, and this practice is reiterated by the later *smṛitis.*[51] This position is maintained till the giving of *Saubhāgya* to the bride by the bridegroom.[52] Some of the authorities quoted by T.A. Gopinatha Rao state that in the *Kalyāṇasundāra mūrtis,* Pārvatī must be seated to the right of her consort, Śiva.[53] Such images were very popular in the Gupta period. We have several references to them in Sanskrit literature of the period.[54]

Moreover, the king is here shown presenting a bangle or *sindūradānī* to the queen. Bangle is presented by the bridegroom

to the bride at the time of marriage.[55] *Sindūrakaraṇa*, too, is an important ritual of marriage. Śrī Harṣa refers to this figuratively in *Naiṣadhīya Charitam* [56] Therefore, the obverse of the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī coin depicts the marriage scene.[57]

Sohoni, however, holds a different view. According to him, the obverse scene is a "development from an earlier and common representation of a king offering oblations on a fire-altar."[58] He says that the obverse shows the king offering oblations on a fire-altar before leaving for a war. That he is leaving for a war, according to to Sohoni, is clear from the fact that he is wearing a *vārabāṇa*, which Kālidāsa describes as *prasthāna-kālochita-chāruveṣa*, i.e., "a dress fit for being worn when moving out for an expedition."[59]

Sohoni further says that though the queen is looking intently at the thing held by the king, she is making no movement to accept the thing from the king's hand. He suggests that the thing is a bangle or armlet, which is for the personal use of Chandragupta I himself as a charm for luck. There are several instances in ancient Indian literature of persons wearing such an ornament for luck before proceeding for a war or a trying voyage. In the *Harṣacharita*, Harṣa is described as putting on a bracelet (*pratisara*) after worshipping fire. Sohoni says that Chandragupta I is showing the ornament to Kumāradevī for "pointedly bringing it to his queen's notice that he was, in fact, having it with him."[60]

We now discuss the various theories put forth by scholars regarding the attribution of this Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type. The earlier scholars regarded this coin-type as an issue of Chandragupta I.

Smith[61] is of the view that Chandragupta I married Kumāradevī, who belonged to the Lichchhavi clan which at the

time held sway over Pāṭaliputra, that through this marriage, he "succeeded to the power of his wife's relatives", and that he issued this coin-type "in the names of himself and the Lichchhavis jointly."[62] Allan, however, finds this doubtful, and on the basis of the evidence of I-Tsing[63] that even Gupta, the grandfather of Chandragupta I, was in possession of Pāṭaliputra, suggests that Chandragupta I could not have received the sovereignty of Pāṭaliputra from the Lichchhavis.[64]

D.R. Bhandarkar, too, ascribes this coin-type to Chandragupta I. He also regards the Lichchhavis as masters of Pāṭaliputra. He conjectures that after the marriage of Chandragupta I with Kumāradevī of the Lichchhavi clan, all the chiefs and their heirs got killed in some battle or through some catastrophe, and as there remained no male claimant to the Lichchhavi state, it passed as "patrimony" to Kumāradevī. As she was a Hindu wife, her husband, Chandragupta I "was naturally associated with her in this rule". The presence of the name and figure of Kumāradevī along with those of Chandragupta I on the obverse of the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī coin-type shows that she was an actual ruler.[65] Thus, Bhandarkar regards this coin-type as a joint issue.

Allan, however, put forth the theory that this coin-type is not an issue of Chandragupta I, but of his son, Samudragupta, who is here commemorating the "union of Chandragupta I with the Licchavi family,"[66] through this series of coins. He is of the view that Chandragupta I conquered the Lichchhavis of Vaiśālī, and "that his marriage with Kumaradevi was one of the terms of the treaty of peace."[67] He also suggests that the Guptas took pride in their association with the Lichchhavis not so much due to any material advantages gained by this association as it was due to the

ancient lineage of the Lichchhavis.[68]

Allan argues that the Standard type of Samudragupta [69] is a closer copy of the later Kuṣāṇa types[70] than the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type,[71] and finds it difficult to explain Samudragupta's "return to a relatively slavish imitation of Kushan types after the comparative originality of his father's coin",[72] if we regard this coin-type as an issue of Chandragupta I.

Allan further says that we have no evidence of the circulation of late Kuṣāṇa or Śaka coins in the Gupta territory at the time of Chandragupta I. The Guptas could have come into contact with the later Kuṣāṇas only in the time of Samudragupta, and as such, the Guptas could have had knowledge of the later Kuṣāṇa coinage, which served as the prototype for their own coinage, only during the reign of Samudragupta after the Daivaputra Ṣāhi Ṣāhānuṣāhi had "surrendered the enjoyment of their territories"[73] to him. Thus Gupta coinage could have begun only during the reign of Samudragupta, and to him must go the credit of issuing the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī coins to commemorate the marriage of his parents.[74]

Allan compared the fabric of the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type with that of some Standard type and Archer type coins of Samudragupta,[75] found the fabric to be similar, and came to the conclusion that these must be contemporaneous issues.[76]

Most of the coins of the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type show traces of the back of the throne behind the goddess on the reverse, as also the Standard, [77] Archer,[78] and Battle-axe [79] types of Samudragupta. Allan is of the view that "the coins which bear most traces of the throne are the earliest, while the latest bear practically no trace of the throne."[80] On this basis, he places the Chandragupta - Kumāradevī coins after the Standard and Archer

types of Samudragupta.[81]

The goddess, seated on lion and holding a cornucopiae, on the reverse of the earliest Lion-slayer of Chandragupta II[82]resembles very closely the goddess on the reverse of the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī coins. This suggests to Allan that the former coin-type immediately followed the latter.[83] So the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type has to be placed towards the close of the reign of Samudragupta.

The Standard and other coin-types of Samudragupta bear long metrical legends referring to his conquests, and, hence, they were probably not issued at the beginning of the reign of Samudragupta.[84] Allan says that if Chandragupta I had started the Gupta coinage, "it would be remarkable that Samudragupta did not immediately continue their issue"[85]

Lastly, Allan argues that it is unlikely that Chandragupta I, who had a comparatively long reign, "was content to issue 'joint' coinage throughout his reign."[86] As such, Allan says that Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī coin-type cannot be attributed to Chandragupta I, but has to be regarded as the issue of his son and successor, Samudragupta, to commemorate the marriage of his parents and his own Lichchhavi association. He thus gives the credit of starting the Gupta coinage to Samudragupta.[87]

But most of the arguments put forth by Allan in favour of his theory that the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type was issued by Samudragupta to commemorate his parents, do not seems to be very convincing.

First, we shall take up the circumstances, which, Allan believed, led to the marriage of Chandragupta I and Kumāradevī, and the reason he gives for the issue of these coins by Samudragupta.

He says that the marriage was a result of the victory of Chandragupta I over the Lichchhavis, and that the Guptas took pride in their Lichchhavi association because of the ancient lineage of the latter clan.[88]

Altekar, however, has aptly pointed out that there is no evidence to show that Chandragupta I had defeated the Lichchhavis.[89] Moreover, the "persistent and reverential allusion to the Lichchhavis in the Gupta inscriptions and on the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type of coins does not portray the Lichchhavis as a defeated and helpless people." Altekar has also pointed out that in cases of marriages dictated after the defeat, the sons born of such marriages never take pride in calling themselves as "daughter's son" of the defeated ruler or people.[90] On the contrary, all the official Gupta documents describe Samudragupta as *Lichchhavi-dauhitra*, which shows their pride in their Lichchhavi association. In ancient India, to be known as son-in-law, or as daughter's son of so and so, was not a very flattering circumstance,[91] and such relations were mentioned only when the son-in-law or the daughter's son had received substantial help from the family of the wife or mother.[92] Therefore the marriage alliance with the Lichchhavis must have had great significance for the Guptas. But, as pointed out by R.C. Majumdar,[93] according to the *Mānava-dharma-śāstra*,[94] the Lichchhavis were Vrātya Kṣatriyas, Vrātyas being those who, not fulfilling their sacred duties, were excluded from the Savitrī. "As purity, in the orthodox sense, counted for more than the antiquity of the family in ancient times, it may be doubted whether the Guptas laid so much stress on their Lichchhavi descent merely for the sake of social prestige."[95] Hence, the importance of the marriage alliance with the Lichchhavis was political, rather than social.[96]

As regards Allan's argument that the Standard type of

Samudragupta is a closer copy of the Kuṣāṇa prototype than the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type, and, hence, has to be placed before the latter[97] Altekar observes that the relative closeness does not necessarily prove that the Standard type of Samudragupta is chronologically earlier than the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type, which shows lesser imitation of the Kuṣāṇa prototype.[98] The Archer type of Skandagupta[99] depicts the king wearing Kuṣāṇa type coat and trousers, while the same type of his grand-father, Chandragupta II shows the king wearing a *dhotī*.[100] Altekar queries that whether the Archer type of Skandagupta, which is closer to the Kuṣāṇa prototype, can be placed chronologically earlier than the Archer type of Chandragupta II, which shows greater Indianisation?[101]

Moreover, Alterkar points out that the originality of the obverse design of the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type was dictated by the political circumstances. The marriage of Chandragupta I with Kumāradevī led to the amalgamation of the Gupta and Lichchhavi states. But the proud Lichchhavis seem to have insisted upon maintaining their identity. Hence the name and figure of Kumāradevī along with those of Chandragupta I on the obverse.[102]

Again, the reverse of this coin-type is not so original as it appears, and, according to Altekar, is modelled partly after the Śaka coin-type[103]and partly after the type of Kaniṣka III.[104]

Altekar does not accept Allan's view that the Guptas were not familiar with the Late Kuṣāṇa coins which served as prototype for the Gupta coinage, until the surrender of the Daivaputra Ṣāhi Ṣāhānuṣāhi during the reign of Samudragupta. He says that Pāṭaliputra, Gaya, and Allahabad, which were included in the

kingdom of Chandragupta I, were important trade centres and places of pilgrimage, and the later Kuṣāṇa gold coins must have been in circulation in those places. One such coin was discovered during the excavations at Kumarahar near Patna in 1913. Hence, the Guptas could have been familiar with these later Kuṣāṇa gold money and used them as the prototypes for their own coinage even before the boundaries of the Gupta empire first touched those of the Later Kuṣāṇa kingdoms during the reign of Samudragupta.[105]

Allan has placed the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type after the Standard and the Archer type of Samudragupta on the basis of the traces of the back of the throne visible on the reverse.[106] Altekar, however, points out that some of the Archer type coins of Chandragupta II[107] show even greater imitation of the Kuṣāṇa prototype on the reverse, than the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type, because on the former, the goddess is depicted as seated on a high-backed throne.[108]

Again, on the basis of the close resemblance between the deity on the reverse of the Lion-slayer type of Chandragupta II and that on the reverse of the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type, Allan regards the former type as having immediately followed the latter, as stated earlier.[109] It may, however, be pointed out that the early Gupta coins show traces of foreign influence,[110] but an attempt, on the part of the Gupta artists, to Indianize the foreign coin-type is evident right from the beginning of the Gupta coinage.[111] Hindu tradition does not approve of a king holding his own standard. But due to the foreign (Kuṣāṇa) influence, Chandragupta I is seen holding a standard on the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī coin,[112] and Samudragupta on his Standard type.[113] However, after the Standard type of Samudragupta, the standard in the hand of the king was replaced by a bow[114] or a battle-axe,[115] in an attempt to

Indianize the coin-type. If, following Allan, we are to place the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type after the Archer type of Samudragupta, and before the Lion-slayer type of Chandragupta II, how are we then to explain the "return to a relatively slavish imitation of Kushan types after the comparative originality" of the Archer and Battle-axe types of Samudragupta, where the standard in the hand of the king is already replaced by the bow and the battle-axe respectively?[117]

It is true that the Standard type of Samudragupta, which appears to be his earliest issue, bears the long metrical legend referring to victory in a hundred battles.[118] But it need not be taken at its face value to mean that Samudragupta actually issued this coin-type after a hundred victories in battles.[119] Could it be that the victories referred to here are those gained over the other claimants to the Gupta throne, whom Samudragupta appears to have superseded,[120] and who might have contested his succession ? If so, the Standard type of Samudragupta could have been issued quite early in his reign, when he had consolidated his power by defeating these other contestants to the Gupta throne.[121] As such, there need not be any long gap between the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type of Chandragupta I, and the Standard type of Samudragupta.

Why was Chandragupta I content to issue joint coins throughout his reign ?[122] Altekar suggests[123] that Chandragupta I owed so much to the Lichchhavis for the foundation and growth of his empire, and that the Lichchhavi alliance was so important to him politically, that the discontinuance of the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type would have been "very inadvisable". Also, he believes that though Chandragupta I had a long reign, he ruled as *Mahārājādhirāja* for a very short period of time. He started

issuing coins only after having formally assumed the title of *Mahārājādhirāja.*[124] As such, he did not issue the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type of coins for a very long time.[125]

Therefore, there seems to be no convincing reason for regarding this type as an issue of Samudragupta to commemorate the marriage of his parents and his own Lichchhavi association.

R.D. Banerji regards the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī coins as commemorative medals struck by Samudragupta in memory of his father, and also to commemorate the Gupta - Lichchhavi alliance.[126] He is of the view that the importance of this alliance to the Guptas was political in nature, and that the Guptas received material help from the Lichchhavis. But he gives an altogether different reason for the Guptas taking help from the Lichchhavis.[127] He opines that Magadha, and even the whole of North-eastern India, might have been under the rule of the Kuṣāṇas, for we have epigraphic evidence of the annexation of Magadha to the Kuṣāṇa empire by Kaniṣka I, whose Mahākṣatrapa Kharapāllaṇa was governing North-eastern India, and whose Kṣatrapa Vanaspara was probably in charge of the extreme North-east, from Vārāṇasī to Eastern Bengal.[128] Banerji says that Chandragupta I led the people of Magadha in their war of liberation from the Kuṣāṇa rule[129] and in this war, he was assisted by the Lichchhavis,[130] either because of the marriage of Kumāradevī to Chandragupta I,[131] or because of the Guptas themselves having being descended from the Lichchhavi oligarchs.[132]

This view, however, seems to be untenable. The epigraphic record Banerji mentions as an evidence of the Kuṣāṇa rule over Magadha dates to A.D. 81,[133] while Chandragupta I came to power in the early decades of the fourth century A.D. There seems to be

no evidence to show the continuation of the Kuṣāṇa rule over Magadha up to the time of Chandragupta I.

Brown also accepts the view of Allan, and ascribes the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī coin-type to Samudragupta, and regards the type as a commemorative medallion.[134]

R.K. Mookerji, too, regards these coins as the issues of Samudragupta to commemorate his parents, and the Gupta-Lichchhavi alliance.[135] He further conjectures that as these coins bear on the reverse the legend *Lichchhavayaḥ*, these coins were in circulation in the Lichchhavi territories, which passed into the hands of Chandragupta I as a result of the matrimonial alliance.[136] He suggests at another place in the same work, that these coins were the issues of the Lichchhavis, who had maintained their local autonomy as a republic even after becoming a part of the Gupta empire.[137] But, it may be noted that the Lichchhavis as a repulican tribe are not know to have issued any coins.

T.P. Verma has supported the view of Allan regarding the the attribution of this coin type.[138] Apart from agreeing with the arguments put forth by Allan in favour of his theory, Verma also says that on the basis of metrology, too these coins cannot be placed first in the Gupta series. He says that right form the reign of Samudragupta there is a gradual increase in the weight of the Gupta gold coins in every successive reign[139] But the weight of the Chandragupta I Kumāradevī type of coins, on an average, is more than the average weight of the Standard type of Samudragupta.

Also, the average percentage of pure gold in the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type of coins is the highest in the whole of the Gupta Series, and it is seen that this average percentage of pure gold in the Gupta coins goes on decreasing in

every successive reign , generally speaking.[141]

As such, the Chandragupta I- Kumāradevī type, which has the highest percentage of pure gold in the entire Gupta series of gold coins, should be placed first in that series.[142]

V.S. Pathak regards the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī coin as a commemorative medal struck by Samudragupta to show his dual parentage, and his claim to the sovereignty of the amalgamated Gupta - Lichchhavi territory.[143]

The Gupta epigraphs refer to Samudragupta as *Lichchhavidauhitra*, i.e., daughter's son of Lichchhavi. Pathak is of the view that here the term *dauhitra* is used in its technical meaning of *putrikā-putra* - one of the twelve subsidiary sons. The *Smṛitis* sometimes used the term *dauhitra* in this sense. Baudhāyana distinguishes between *dauhitra* and *putrikā-putra*.[144] But Manu uses the term *dauhitra* in the sense of *putrikā - putra*. Kullūka[145] interprets *dauhitra* as *putrikā-putra*.[146] V.S. Pathak points out that "adopted, purchased and *dauhitra* sons are *dvāmushyāyaṇa*,[147] and they belong to the family of their natural father as well as that of their maternal grandfather; who is considered for all religious purposes as father.[148] He[149] also refers to Manu saying that "*dauhitra* in the absence of (natural) son inherits the whole property and offers *piṇḍas* both to the natural father and maternal grand-father."[150]

Hence, Samudragupta was a *dvāmuṣyāyaṇa*, the natural son of Chandragupta I and the subsidiary son (of the *dauhitra* category) of his maternal grandfather. This is why he is introduced as *Chandragupta - putrasya Lichchhavi - dauhitrasya Mahadevyām Kumāradevyāmutpannasya*. "The Chandragupta - Kumāradevī type of coins is a numismatic version of this line."[151] The obverse

device of this type means *Chandraguptaputrasya Kumāradevyāmutpannasya*, and the reverse legend means *Lichchhavidauhitrasya*. Therefore, Samudragupta "although does not give his name, leave sufficient indications with regard to identity of the the issuer."[152] This is regarded to be "highly fanciful."[153]

V.C. Pandey [154] is of the view that the chief of the Lichchhavis had no male issue. In ancient Indian polity, there is no provision for a daughter to succeed her father, but the son of one's daughter can be adopted as one's successor, and such a person is called *putrikā-putra*. Samudragupta had been adopted by Kumāradevī's father to succeed him. Chandragupta I also selected Samudragupta to be his successor, as is clear from the *Prayāga Praśasti* of Samudragupta.[155] Thus, "Samudragupta ruled in his dual capacity as a *Lichchhavidauhitra* in the Lichchhavi State and as the son and successor of *Mahārājādhirāja* Chandragupta in the Gupta state."[156] The Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type was issued by Samudragupta to commemorate his parents, his Lichchhavi association, and "to emphasise the duality of his claim to the throne."[157] Pandey is of the view that the coin-type is the earliest type issued by Samudragupta, and that it is a commemorative medal.[158] But, as we have already stated, it seems to be difficult to regard this coin-type as an issue of Samudragupta.

V.S. Agrawala[159] is of the view that the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī coin was issued by the Lichchhavis, because the legend *Lichchhavayaḥ* occupies the reverse of the coin, the place generally reserved for the name of the issuer on the commemorative medals of the Indo-Greek kings Agathokles,[160] Antimachos,[161] and Eukratides.[162] But we shall explain the actual significance of this

reverse legend later.[163]

Dr K. K. Thaplyal,[164] too, is of the view that the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī coins were issued by the Lichchhavis to commemorate the marriage of Kumāradevī with Chandragupta I, for, as Pathak suggests,[165] the obverse of this type depicts the marriage scene of Chandragupta I and Kumāradevī.

Dr Thaplyal further suggests[166] that the Lichchhavi state seems to have been governed by a council of chiefs, presided over by a head (rāja), whose office seems to have become hereditary. The then ruling Lichchhavi head and the father of Kumāradevī, appears to have been without a male issue. As such, the prominent Lichchhavi chiefs must have become anxious to marry Kumāradevī, and to consequently gain the headship of the Lichchhavi council of chiefs. These chiefs must have requested the council for the hand of Kumāradevī in marriage, for, according to the *Vinayapiṭaka*, a Lichchhavi chief, desirous of marriage, could ask the council to select a proper bride for him.[167] This competition for the hand of Kumāradevī among the Lichchhavi chiefs might have led to internal dissensions, from which the Lichchhavis had already suffered once in the time of Ajātaśatru. It was realised that marrying Kumāradevī within the Lichchhavi clan would have serious repurcussions, and therefore, it was decided that she should be married outside the clan, to Chandragupta I, but on the condition that the son born of this marriage would inherit the amalgamated Gupta - Lichchhavi state. The Lichchhavis commemorated this marriage by depicting the marriage scene on the obverse, and giving the name of their own clan on the reverse as commemorator, on this type. These medals were presented as souvenirs to the bridegroom's party, who brought these pieces to their homes. This would explain why a large number of these

pieces have been found within the original Gupta territory, and relatively fewer pieces in the original Lichchhavi territory.[168]

The tradition of distribution souvenirs to the members of the bridegroom's party exists even to this day. But the Lichchhavis do not seem to have issued any coins of their own, and it naturally follows that they had no mint in their state. If they distributed these pieces to the members of the bridegroom's party, they either had to borrow the art of striking such pieces from some other people, or to get these pieces struck in the mint of some other kingdom or state.

Recently, B.B. Singh has comes forth with the view that the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī coin-type is an issue of the Lichchhavis, struck during the life-time of Chandragupta I to evince, on the one hand, the separate entity of the Lichchhavi state, and to commemorate, on the other hand, the Lichchhavi-Gupta *entente*.[169] He says that had it been a joint issue of the Gupta and the Lichchhavi families, we would not have found the name of the Lichchhavis alone on the reverse of this coin-type.[170] He says that as P.L. Gupta suggests,[171] the father of Kumāradevī had no male issue, and, hence, she inherited the Lichchhavi state till her son attained youth, the work of administration of the Lichchhavi state actually being entrusted to her husband, Chandragupta I. As Kumāradevī was the legal heiress, the honorific title *Śrī* is associated only with her name, and not with that of Chandragupta I, which would have been the case had this coin-type been a Gupta issue.[172] B.B. Singh accounts for the presence of these coins in the original Gupta territory by saying that the Lichchhavis had existed as a distinctly separate entity during the life-time of Chandragupta I,[173] and, hence Chandragupta I wanted Samudragupta, who was to

inherit the Lichchhavi state on gaining adulthood, to succeed him, so that there could be an amalgamation of the Gupta and the Lichchhavi states. Therefore, he popularised the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī coins in the Gupta territories "to impress the position of Samudragupta on the minds of the people at large", and "to prepare his subjects mentally for the fact that the off-spring of his Lichchhavi queen alone would inherit him."[174]

This, however, seems to be hardly convincing. This suggestion of B.B. Singh can account for the presence of these Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī coins, which he believes were issues by the Lichchhavis, in the Gupta territories, but certainly not for their rarity in the Lichchhavi territory. Also, as stated earlier,[175] the Lichchhavis are not known to have issued any coins. Again, as pointed out earlier,[176] if the Lichchhavis, who were at the time being effectively ruled by Chandragupta I, had issued these coins, why did he not issue coins himself ? As such, it is difficult to regard these coins as the issues of the Lichchhavis.

Altekar is of the view that the Chandragupta i - Kumāradevī type is a joint issue of Chandragupta I and Kumāradevī. He does not regard this as a commemorative medal issued by Samudragupta, for the name of Samudragupta does not appear on the coin, which is quite inexplicable if this coin -type is regarded as an issue of Samudragupta.[177] No commemorator, while issuing a commemorative medallion, fails to mention his name on the same. The Indo-Greek ruler, Agathokles, while commemorating the earlier Greek, Graeco-Bactrian, and Indo-Greek rulers, identifies himself on the reverse as ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ;[178] Antimachos, on his commemorative medallions, is identified as ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΘΕΟΥ

ANTIMAXOY ;[179] Eukratides, on this issues struck in memory of his parents, is mentioned as ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΗΣ[180]

Sohoni points out that "there was enough indication left by Samudragupta to indicate a reference to him, viz., names of his parents and of a community which had helped him."[181] V.S. Pathak suggests that the obverse legends *Chandragupta* and *Kumāradevī-Śrī*, and the device of the marriage scene on the obverse may together be taken as meaning *Chandraguptaputrasya Kumāradevyāmutpannasya.*[182] But this is "*highly fanciful.*"[183] V.C. Pandey is of the view that "It was due to his sense of modesty and reverence for his parents that he refrained from parading his own figure and name on these coins."[184] This, too, does not appear to be very convincing. If Samudragupta, by issuing these coins, was proclaiming his right to the royalty of both the Gupta and the Lichchhavi states, or was commemorating the Gupta-Lichchhavi alliance, it is hardly likely that he would just indicate, and not explicitly mention, his name on the coin, and that too out of a "sense of modesty and reverence for his parents."

Therefore, the coin should not be taken as the issue of Samudragupta. Jayaswal[185]also "scoffed at the idea of an Indian son commemorating his parents' marriage".[186] He says that "the coins whereon Chandragupta I is caressing his wife" could only have been issued by Chandragupta I himself.[187]

Altekar suggests that at the time of issue of the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī coins, there was joint rule in the Gupta empire. The marriage of Chandragupta I with Kumāradevī of the Lichchhavi clan led to an amalgamation of the Gupta and the

Lichchhavi states,[188] in which Kumāradevī, due to one of the terms of the matrimonial alliance between the Guptas and the Lichchhavis, "was not merely a queen consort but a queen regnant".[189] This necessitated the issue of a joint coin bearing the name and figure of Kumāradevī, the Lichchhavi princess,[190] long with those of Chandragupta I on the obverse.[191] Alterkar remarks, "The Lichchhavis claimed to be equal partners with the Guptas in the new empire and so it was necessary to put their name on the reverse."[192]

As against this view of Altekar that there was an amalgamation between the Guptas and the Lichchhavis, leading to the joint rule of Chandragupta I and Kumāradevī, it has been argued as to why the Lichchhavis - a republican people - formed a joint rule with Chandragupta I - a monarch ?[193] And if they had developed a monarchical form of government, why are the Lichchhavis mentioned as *Lichchhavayaḥ* in plural on the reverse of the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type ?[194]

But R.C. Majumdar had already stated, "The use of the tribal name in plural number seems to imply that a vestige of the old republican constitution still persisted among the Lichchhavis, but the position of Kumāradevī indicates something like a hereditary monarchical constitution in actual practice."[195] So, the Lichchhavi government seems to be *de jure* a republic, but *de facto* a monarchy. This would also solve T.P. Verma's problem that the "logic that a daughter of a *gaṇa-rājya* was a 'legal heiress' does not sound well."[196]

Several theories regarding the attribution and circulation of the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type of coins have been put forth on the basis of the reverse legend *Lichchhavayaḥ*. But we

feel that the actual significance of this legend lies elsewhere. After the amalgamation of the Gupta and the Lichchhavi states, Chandragupta I and Kumāradevī seem to have ruled over the consolidated territory as representatives of the Guptas and the Lichchhavis, respectively, in this joint rule. When they issued the joint coinage, the very name of Chandragupta I, which occurs on the obverse of the coin showed that he represented the Gupta dynasty. But the name of Kumāradevī gave no indication of her family, which she represented in the joint rule. As such, the name of her family was introduced on the reverse of the coin-type; on the reverse because first, there was no space for this purpose on the obverse, and secondly, because traditionally, in a Hindu marriage, the position of the family of the bride was regarded as inferior to that of the family of the bridegroom. But why is the name of the Lichchhavis in the plural number, when the purpose of identification could have easily been served by referring to the tribe simply in the singular number ? The name of the Lichchhavis is given on the coins in the plural number, i.e., as *Lichchhavayaḥ*, because, as stated earlier,[197] the Lichchhavi government appears to be *de facto* a monarchy, but it was still *de jure* a republic.

Sohoni had suggested earlier that the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type was an issue of Chandragupta I, struck after his marriage with Kumāradevī, "a marriage preceded by conquest."[198] He believed that Chandragupta I defeated the Lichchhavis, and his marriage with Kumāradevī was one of the terms of peace. But this view, too, does not seem to be acceptable because had this been the case, Samudragupta and his successors would not possibly have taken pride in calling him the *dauhitra* (daughter's son) of a vanquished race.[199]

About the obverse device of the coin, Sohoni asserts, and

that too quite emphatically, that it "was not Indian"[200] but was associated with Persia, in the early years of the Gupta rule, mainly with the Sassanian kings of Ctesiphon. He says that the scene of Chandragupta I offering a wedding ring or armlet to Kumāradevī seems to be inspired by similar scenes that occur on the coins and bas-reliefs at Naksh-i-Rustam and Tak-i-Boston of the Sassanian period. He gives illustrations of these coins and bas-reliefs to prove his point. In Figure 1,[201] Ardeshir I is seen receiving a ring from Ahura Mazda. In Figure 2,[202] Ardeshir I is bestowing a ring upon his son, Shapur I. In Figure 4,[203] Varahran II and his queen are seen together holding a ring. Sohoni says that the dress, ornaments, symmetry of depiction and attitude of the two royal pairs in Figure 4 and on the obverse of the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī coins have a striking similarity.[205] The ring in the hands of the Sassanians is described by the poet Faurast-e-Shirazi,[206] as *halka-e-mauhada,* i.e., "the ring of excellence, symbolic of success, peace, and excellence of religion."[207] Crescent on the early Gupta coins, too, might have been borrowed from the coinage of the feudatories of the Sassanians, and from the coinage of the Sassanians themselves, as pointed out by Sohoni.[208]

Sohoni says that "political subordination is not necessary to imitate a detail of a coin type."[209] He also says, "Not for a moment is it suggested that Chandragupta I was either directly or indirectly subordinated to a Sassanian king at any stage of his career."[210] But he also queries, "But why did his son play the role of a liberator in the west; and what was the reason for his military activity being deflected to the south ?"[211]

There is, however, no evidence to suggest that Chandragupta I was subordinate to any Sassanian ruler at any stage of his career. He is invariably referred to as Mahārājādhirāja

on his coins and in the Gupta epigraphs, and in the Gupta period, the title of *Mahārājādhirāja* indicated independent status of the king.

Altekar, while examining these theories of Sohoni,[212] points out that the obverse device could not have been borrowed from Persia. On the Sassanian coins and sculptures, referred to by Sohoni in support of his theory, the kings are seen receiving a ring from Ahura Mazda, or princes from kings. In the representation of Varahran II and his queen, both of them are together holding the ring; the king is not presenting it to the queen. As such, there is no exact parallel of this type in Sassanian coinage and art, although this does not completely rule out Sohoni's theory.

Then, the Sassanian coins are very rare in India, and no Sassanian coins have so far been known to be in circulation during the fourth century A.D. within the area where Chandragupta I is believed to have ruled. Also, these coins, which Sohoni believes served as prototypes for the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type, were not common in Persia itself. So, the Gupta moneyers could not have possibly used them as prototypes for the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type.[213]

Moreover, as Altekar has pointed out,[214] the idea of a wife receiving a gift from her husband is a common one in many lands, and we have several similar instances in ancient Sanskrit literature. Sītā received a valuable *chūḍāmaṇi* from Rāma.[215] When Duṣyanta was parting from Śakuntalā in the hermitage, he gave her a ring as token of his having married her.[216] Therefore, it was not necessary for the Gupta moneyers to derive inspiration from Sassanian art to represent Chandragupta I as presenting a wedding ring to his queen.[217] Incidentally, on the King-and-Queen-on-Couch type of Chandragupta II, the king is again shown offering a present to his

queen.[218] Kumāragupta I, too, is seen offering a bunch of flowers to his queen on his King-and-Queen type of coins.[219]

Later, Sohoni himself changed his view regarding the foreign - Persian - origin of the obverse device of the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type. He writes, "I had not then [220] realised that what was shown on this obverse composition was not a copy inspired by such precedents, but an incident completely Indian in sentiment whose depiction was similar in appearance."[221]

Sohoni later changed his view regarding the attribution of this coin-type as well. Remarking at the improbability of "(i) an emperor sharing his power with relations of one of his queens, or her clan, or with that queen herself, or (ii) his striking coins only according to one type, which moreover, was alleged to have represented a joint administration ; or (iii) of such coin not having been associated with territories of that clan or dynasty",[222] Sohoni objects to the joint coin theory of Altekar,[223] and suggests that "it was more likely that occurrence of names like Chandragupta - Kumāradevī and *Lichchhavayaḥ* was intended as unmistakable pointer not towards Chandragupta I but somebody else in whose career alone could be found an occasion for expressing gratitude to all these three, viz., his two parents and a community which helped him during a period of need,"[224] i.e., Samudragupta.

Sohoni further says that cornucopia and fillet were transformed into *bīja-koṣa* and *sanāla-kamala* respectively by the Gupta artists. He takes the appearance of the *bīja-koṣa* and stalked lotus on the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī coins as an evidence to show that the type was "based on a stage of development of this design which was *later* than that included on some other coin-types of Samudragupta."[225]

Explaining the absence of the name of Samudragupta from the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type, Sohoni says that Samudragupta had left enough indications in the form of the names of his parents and of the community which seems to have helped the Guptas to indicate a reference to him.[226] As stated earlier, this does not seem to be acceptable.[227]

As regards the object held in the hand of Chandragupta which he seems to be offering to his queen, according to Altekar,[228] "The object offered has been differently represented on different coins." He says that on some coins, it is a ring, held between the forefinger and the thumb.[229] On others, it is a *sindūradānī*, held by its handle by the king.[230] On yet other specimens, this object looks like a bangle or *kaṭaka*,[231] but as a bangle cannot possibly be held in the manner in which it is shown on these coins, Altekar is of the view that it is the circular end of the *sindūradānī*.[232] Cunningham's suggestion that the object offered is a flower[233] does not seems to be appropriate.

An interesting thing to be remarked about this coin-type is that the queen, Kumāradevī, is represented on the obverse. This is a rare occurrence in the tradition of ancient Indian numismatic art. The depiction of the queen along with the king on the obverse of this coin sheds valuable light on the exalted position of women in the upper classes of the society in the Gupta period.[234] That this exalted position of women was maintained throughout the Gupta period seems to be proved by the occurrence of the figure of the queen on the coins of Samudragupta,[235] Chandragupta II,[236] Kumāragupta I,[237] and Skandagupta.[238]

New dimension is added to the issue by the discovery of some silver coins of the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type. A.L. Srivastava was probably the first to bring a silver coin of this type

to the notice of the scholars,[239] and he reports that this coin is similar to the gold coins of this type in almost every respect. Later, other silver coins of this type were published by Y.B. Singh,[240] O.P. Singh,[241] and B.R. Mani.[242] Y.B. Singh regarded his piece as example of mint-testing.[243]

B.R. Mani points out that there are three differences between the silver coins examined by him, and the gold coins of the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type. First, the name of Chandragupta I is written on the gold pieces as *Chandra*, while it occurs as *Chaṁdra* on the silver pieces. Secondly, the crescent between the heads of Chandragupta I and Kumāradevī, seen on the gold coins, is absent on the silver coins.[244] Thirdly, the name of Kumāradevī occurs on the silver pieces without the honorific title of *Śrī*.[245] A fourth difference is that between the legs of the king, there appears on the silver coins a Brāhmī letter *la*.[246] As the occurrence of Brāhmī letters on the obverse of the coins is a feature of the Kuṣāṇa coinage, the silver coins of the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type, which bear the Brāhmī letter *la* on the obverse, have been placed chronologically earlier than the gold coins of this type where there occurs no solitary Brāhmī letter in the field.[247]

Quite recently, B.N. Mukherjee has expressed grave doubts regarding the genuineness of the silver coins of the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type.[248] He says that none of these silver pieces has been recovered from an excavation or from a hoard. He also says that a silver coin of this type examined by him appears to be a cast piece, while genuine Gupta coins appears to be die-struck. As such, he regards that coin as a forgery. He concludes, "All these considerations do not allow us to accept (in the present state of our knowledge) these silver pieces as products

of a Gupta mint."[249]

A question that arises here is that silver is much less valuable than gold, yet gold coins of the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type have been found in relatively larger numbers, and also in hoards, while the silver coins of this type are very rare, and they are not definitely know to have come from hoards. Why?

Then, again, it is known that symbols occur only on the gold coins of the Imperial Guptas, and not on their silver and copper issues;[250] yet the silver coins of the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type mostly bear symbols.[251] This gives rise to another question. If the silver issues of the first Gupta emperor bear symbols, why are they conspicuous by their absence on the silver issues of the subsequent Gupta emperors ?

The Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type appears to be the only type issued by Chandragupta I.[252] Bailey had suggested that some coins of the Indo-Scythian style in his possession might have been the issues of Chandragupta I. He has, however, not illustrated these coins. One similar coin from the British Museum, published and illustrated in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1884, Pl. III, 6, and another similar coin published by Cunningham,[253] leaves little doubt that what Bailey had hesitantly read as *Chandra* is actually *Bhadra*.[254]

Chhabra suggested that the unique Standard type coin, bearing the legend *Paramabhāgavata* on the reverse should be attributed to Chandragupta I, and not to Chandragupta II.[255] Altekar, however, finds this attribution as "not convincing"[256] and because Chandragupta II had used the Standard type for the obverse of his King-and-Queen-on-Couch type,[257] and because Chandragupta I is not known to have adopted the title of

Paramabhāgavata, Altekar ascribes the unique Standard type with this legend to Chandragupta II.[258]

As such, the coinage of Chandragupta I seems to be confined to the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type alone.

We have several epigraphic references to the marriage of Chandragupta I and Kumāradevī of the Lichchhavi clan. The Gupta epigraphic records usually mention Samudragupta as the son of Chandragupta I, born of Kumāradevī, and as the daughter's son of the Lichchhavis,[259] which definitely proves that Chandragupta I married Kumāradevī, who belonged to the Lichchhavi clan. As such, that Chandragupta I married Kumāradevī was never in doubt.

However, to the best of our knowledge, this marriage of Chandragupta I and Kumāradevī is not referred to in ancient Indian literature. But K.P. Jayaswal is of the view that this marriage is mentioned in the *Kaumudī Mahotsava*.[260] Jayaswal identifies Chaṇḍasena, mentioned in this literary work as the adopted son of Sundaravarman, the (Maukhari ?[261]) king of Pāṭaliputra, with Chandragupta I.[262] This Chaṇḍasena, with the help of his Lichchhavi in-laws, occupied the throne of Magadha, but was himself dethroned after some time, and Kalyāṇavarman, the son of Sundaravarman, was installed as king of Magadha.

As R.K. Mookerji points out,[263] "The Lichchhavi alliance is the line of connexion between the drama and the inscriptions. Other stories of the drama, however, have no historical value." The *Kaumudī Mahotsava* records the extermination of the entire family of Chaṇḍasena. The authoress of the play says, "The law of Varṇa is restored; the royal family of Chaṇḍa-sena is abolished."[264] This is "against history and cannot be explained

away."[265] As such, it is difficult to identify Chaṇḍasena of *Kaumudī Mahotsava* with Chandragupta I. Therefore, there is no literary record of the marriage of Chandragupta I and Kumāradevī.

The numismatic evidence of the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī coins, which depict the marriage scene of Chandragupta I and Kumāradevī on the obverse,[266] and the name of the Lichchhavis on the reverse, corroborates the epigraphic evidence of this matrimonial alliance.

Artistically, the coins of the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type are of very high quality. The figures of the royal pair "are most effective by their point to point balance."[267] It has been said that an art of this calibre argues the urge of genius for self-expression.[268]

References

1. *JNSI*, Vol. XLII, p. 120, Pl. VI, 2.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 122-126.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 125.
4. *JNSI*, Vol. XXXIII, Pt. I, p. 44
5. *CGE*, p. 26.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 308.
7. *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1894, p. 57.
8. *JNSI*, Vol. XLIII, Pt. II, pp. 46-47.
9. On *CGE*, Pl. I, 8, p. 33, they are not nimbate. (See our Pl. VII, 11).
10. *CGE*, p. 34, Pl. I, 8; *BMC, GD*, p. 9, no 24, Pl. III, 4, 5, (See our Pl. VIII, 1).
11. *CGE*, p. 34, Pl. I, 11; *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 100, no.5. (See our Pl. VIII, 2).
12. *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 100, no. 2; *BMC,GD*, p. 10, no. 28, Pl. III, 10 (See our Pl.VIII, 3).
13. Not walking as on the coins of Chandragupta II.

14. *CGE*, p. 34, Pl. I, 8, *IMC*, Vol. I, pp. 99-100, nos. 1-4, Pl XV, 1; *BMC,GD*, p. 9, Pl. III, 2.

15. *CGE*, p. 35, Pl. I, 12, 13;' *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 100, nos. 5-6; *BMC,GD*, p. 8, no. 23, Pl. III, 1. Smith makes two varieties of this coin-type on the basis of the position of the lion. See *IMC*, Vol. I, pp. 99-100 (See our Pl. VIII, 4).

16. In some cases, e.g., *CGE*, Pl. I, 11, she has partially tucked up her left leg on the lion's head.

17. Allan regards it as a lotus. See *BMC,GD*, p. 8. But Cf. *GGCBH*, p. li.

18. *CGE*, p. 34, Pl. I, 8; p. 35, Pl. I, 12.

19. *CGE*, pp. 32-33; *BMC,GD*, p. 8; *IMC*, Vol. I, pp. 99-100; also Altekar, *Gupta Kālīna Mudrāen* , p. 24.

20. *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 129, no. 30, Pl. XII, 308; *BMC, GSKBI*, p. 85, Pl. XIX, 5.

21. Whitehead, *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 129, no. 30; Gardner, *BMC,GSKBI*, p. 85; Coomaraswamy, *Early Indian Iconography*, (Eastern Art, Vol. I), p. 178; Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, pp. 417-418.

22. Gardner, *BMC, GSKBI*, p. lix.

23. J.N. Banerjea, *DHI*, pp. 134-135.

24. *CGE*, p. 37, no. 6, Pl. I, 6.

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 37-38, Pl. I, 7.

26. *IMC*, Vol. I, pp. 99.-100.

27. *BMC,GD*, p. xviii.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. lxxiii-lxxiv.

29. *Ibid.*, p. lxxiv.

30. *CGE*, p. 31.

31. Cunningham, *Later Indo Scythians*, Pl. II, 1, 12.

32. *JASB*, 1933, p. 7.

33 *CGE*, p. 28.

34. We would like to refer to V.S. Agrawala's article, *JNSI*, Vol. XVII, Pt. II, pp. 92-94.

35. B.C. Bhattacharya, *Indian Images*, Pt. I, p. 37.

36. *JNSI*, Vol.XXVI, pp. 102-104.

37. *Hindu Canons of Iconography and Painting*, p. 311.

38. *JNSI*, Vol. XXX, p. 83.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 82.

40. She is Vaiṣṇavī Mahālakṣmī, for the "Nārāyaṇa Hṛidayam" given in the Uttarabhāga of the *Atharvaṇarahasya* explicitly states that the "Lakshmī hṛidaya" must always be recited after the "Nārāyaṇa hṛidaya", lest the goddess becomes angry. See *Bṛihatstotraratnākara*, Madhav Prasad Vyas (ed.), Varanasi, 1957, 0.94.

41. *Oṁ Śrīṁ hīṁ aiṁ Mahālakṣmyai Kamaladhāriṇyai siṁhavāhinyai svāhā* (See *ibid.*, pp. 142-146.)

42. *CGE*, Pl. XII, 1-10.

43 *JNSI*, Vol XIX, Pt. II, p. 154, Cf., C. Sivaramamurti, *Numismatic Parallels of Kālidāsa*, pp. 15-17.

44. *JNSI*, Vol. XLIV, p. 50, fn. 3.

45. Vide T.A.G. Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 359; cf. an image of Sarvamaṅgalā in the Kanderiya Mahadeva Temple, Urmila Agarwal, *Khajuraho Sculptures and Their Significance*, p. 62.

46. *JNSI*, Vol. XLIV, p. 50, fn. 3.

47. See above.

48. As against this, it can be argued that we have be depiction of Kārttikeya, the son of Śiva, on the coins of Kumāragupta I (*CGE*, pp. 203-206, Pl. XIII, 11-14). But we are of the opinion that the depiction of Kārttikeya, who is also known as Kumāra, was more probably due to the similarity between the names of the deity and the king than due to any religious affiliation of Kumāragupta I. According to the inscriptions, Kumāragupta I, too, was a devout worshiper of Viṣṇu. See *CII*, Vol. III, No. 8.

49. *JNSI*, Vol. XIX, Pt. II, pp. 137-138.

50. I. 5. 5.

51. *Vyāghra Sumṛiti*, 84.

52. See *JNSI*, Vol. XIX, Pt. II, p. 137, fn. 4.

53. E.g., the Kalyāṇasundara mūrti in the Elephanta Cave No. 1; an image in Bharat Kala Bhawan. See *JNSI*, Vol. XIX, Pt. II, p. 137.

54. Kālidāsa, *Raghuvaṁśa*, Canto VII, vv. 16-29; Bāṇa, *Harṣacharit*, IV Parichchheda; Bhavabhūti, *Uttara Rāma Charit*, I.

55. *Ṛig Veda*, X, 85. 33. See *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 553.

56. 55. xv.

57. *JNSI*, Vol. XLIV, p. 49, and fn. 2, where O.P. Singh has expressed the same view.

58. *JNSI*, Vol. XIX, Pt. II, p. 150.

59. *Ibid.*

60. *Ibid.*, p. 151.

61. *EHI*, (2nd. ed.), pp. 265-266.

62. *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 95.

63. *BMC,GD*, pp. xv-xvi. Fleet, (*CII*, Vol. III, p. 8, fn. 2) rejects the identification of Śrī-Gupta of I-tsing with Gupta, the grandfather of Chandragupta I. Smith (Revised *Chronology*, *IA*, 1902, p. 258) assumes the identity.

64. *BMC,GD*, p. xix.

65. *B,AIN*, pp. 9-10; Cf. D.D. Kosambi, *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History*, pp. 152, 311, Kosambi finds this "a most unusual procedure".

66. *BMC,GD*, p. xviii.

67. *Ibid.*, p. xix. Cf. Sohoni, *JNSI*, Vol. V, Pt. I. pp. 40-41. Also cf. R.G. Basak, *History of North Eastern India*, p. 8, where he says that Chandragupta I defeated the Lichchhavis during the reign of his father, Ghaṭotkacha, and compelled the Lichchhavis to enter into a Sanātana sandhi, a treaty in which a maiden is presented to the victor by the defeated.

68. *BMC, GD*, p. xix.

69. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-5, Pl. I, 1-17, Pl. II, 1-5; *CGE*, Pl. I, 14, 15, Pl. II, 1-11.

70. *NC*, 1893, Pl VIII, 2-12, Pl IX.

71. *BMC,GD*, p. lxv.

72. *Ibid.*, pp. lxv-lxvi.

73. *CII*, Vol. III, No. 1.

74. *BMC, GD*, p. lxvi.

75. *Ibid.*, Pl. III, 1, 2 (Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type) with Pl. I, 1-4 (Standard type); Pl III, 4,5 (Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type) with Pl. IV, 6 (Archer type); Pl. III, 8, 9 (Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type) with Pl. I, 14-17 (Standard type).

76. *BMC,GD*, p. lxvi.

77. *Ibid.*, p. 1; *CGE*, p. 48 Pl. I, 14.

78. *BMC,GD*, p. 6, Pl. IV, 1,2; *CGE*, p. 56, Pl. II, 13.

79. *CGE*, p. 58, Pl. III, 5.

80. *BMC,GD*, p. lxvi.

81. *Ibid.*

82. *BMC,GD*, p. 38, Pl. VIII, 11.

83. *Ibid.*, p. lxvii.

84. Cf. Dasharatha Sharma, *JNSI*, Vol. XXVIII, Pt. I, pp. 62-63.

85. *BMC,GD*, pp. lxviii-lxix.

86. *Ibid.*, p. lxviii.

87. *BMC,GD*, p. lxviii.

88. See *supra*.

89. *JNSI*, Vol. V, Pt. II, p. 146.

90. *JNSI*, Vol. V, Pt. II, p. 146. He cites the examples of the marriage of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra I with the Chālukya princess Bhavanāgā after the defeat of the Chālukya king at the hands of Indra I (*EI*, Vol XVIII, pp. 235, ff.), and the marriage of Dhruva with Śīlabhaṭṭārikā after the defeat of her father Viṣṇuvardhana IV of Veṅgi at the hands of Dhruva (*EI*, Vol. XXII, pp. 98 ff.).

91. *JNSI*, Vol. V, Pt. II, p. 147, and fn. 1.

92. E.g., the fathers-in-law of the Vākāṭaka kings Rudrasena I and

Rudrasena II are mentioned in the Vākāṭaka genealogies because of the help they received from their wife's relatives (*CII*, Vol. III, No.55). The Viṣṇukuṇḍina Mādhavavarman calls himself the son of Vākāṭaka princess because of the value of his Vākāṭaka alliance (*EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 195 ff.).

93. *VGA*, p. 128.
94. X, 20, 22.
95. *VGA*, p. 128.
96. As Allan suggests.
97. See *supra*.
98. *CGE*, p. 30.
99. *Ibid.*, Pl. XIV, 8-11.
100. *Ibid.*, p. 96, Pl. IV, 13.
101. *CGE*, p. 30.
102. We shall discuss this point in detail later in this chapter.
103. Cunningham, *Later Indo-Scythians*, Pl. II, 1, 12.
104. *JASB*, 1933, p. 7; CGE, I,7. For details, see *supra*.
105. *CGE*, p. 29.
106. See *supra*.
107. *CGE*, Pl IV, 8.
108. Ibid., p. 30.
109. See *supra*.
110. E.g., the Kuṣāṇa head-dress, coat, trousers, worn by the kings; the king bearing his own standard (in case of the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type and the Standard type of Samudragupta).
111. See Altekar, *CGE*, pp. 15-21.
112. *Ibid.*, Pl. I, 8.
113. *Ibid.*, p. 47, Pl. II, 1.
114. *Ibid.*, Pl. II, 12-14.
115. *Ibid.*, Pl. III, 1-5.

117. We must, however, point out that Chandragupta II is shown holding a standard on the obverse of the King-and-Queen-on-Couch type coin. See *CGE*, Pl. IX, 6.

118. *Samara-śata-vitata-vijayojita-ripurajito divaṁ jayati*, "The invincible (king) who had won victories on a hundred battle-fields and conquered the enemies, wins the heaven." *CGE*, pp. 47-48.

119. See *supra*. Cf. K. Chaudhary, *JNSI*, Vol XLVI, p. 49, who says that on a unique Standard type coin, Samudragupta's face is definitely quite young.

120. See *Prayāga Praśasti, CII*, Vol III, No. 1.

121. Cf. *CGE*, p. 3, and fn. 1.

122. See *supra*.

123. *CGE*, p. 32.

124. *GGCBH*, pp. xl-xli.

125. *CGE*, p. 32.

126. *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, pp. 8, 209, 212-213, 218.

127. *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3, 5.

128. *EI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 176, 179.

129. *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, pp. 2-3.

130. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

131. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

132. *Ibid.*

133. *EI*, Vol VIII, p. 176.

134. *Coins of India*, pp. 41, 42, 46.

135. *The Gupta Empire*, pp. 14-15.

136. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

137. *Ibid.*, p. 158. Cf. A.L. Srivastava, *JNSI*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 59-61, who regards this coin as an issue of Kumāradevī for circulation in the Lichchhavi territory exclusively. But as A.M. Shastri points out in his note (p. 61, fn. 1), if the Gupta mint was producing coins for circulation in the Lichchhavi territory, why did it not produce coins

for circulation in the Gupta territory ? The same objection applies to Mookerji's view. If the Lichchhavis, who formed part of the Gupta empire, issued coins for circulation in their own territory, why did Chandragupta I, who was, by virtue of his marriage with Kumāradevī, the supreme sovereign of the Lichchhavis, not issue coins for circulation in his own territory ? Again the same objection applies to the view of B.B. Singh, *JNSI*, Vol. XLI, pp. 78-81, that the coins were issues of the Lichchhavis to commemorate the Gupta - Lichchhavi alliance. They have all based their theories on the presence of the legend *Lichchhavayaḥ* on the reverse of this coin-type. We shall return to the significance of this legend later.

138. *JNSI*, Vol. XXXIII, pp.47-48.

139. *Ibid.*,p. 47.

141. See S.K. Maity, *Early Indian coins and Currency System*, Table I (a), pp. 62-66, and Table II (a), p. 72

142. Cf. Sohoni, *JNSI*, Vol. XIX, Pt. II, pp. 152-153, where he says that the presence of highest percentage of pure gold in this type cannot be taken as proof of its being the earliest in the Gupta series, first because the percentage of gold varies from coin to coin of the same type, and secondly, because the Gupta kings had several mints, and each mint struck coins "after taking into account quantity of gold given to it."

143. *JNSI*, Vol. XIX, Pt. II, pp. 141-142.

144. II, 2, 17. Also Dāyabhāga XI, 2, 21,

145. IX, 139.

146. See *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. III, p. 720.

147. Kātyāyana as quoted by Vyavhāra Mayūkha (See *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. III, p. 685). JNSI, Vol. XIX, Pt. II, p. 140, and fn. 2.

148. *JNSI*, Vol. XIX, Pt. II, pp. 140-141.

149. *Ibid.*, p. 141.

150. IX, 132.

151. *JNSI*, Vol. XIX, Pt. II, p. 141.

152. *Ibid.*, p. 140.
153. See *infra.*
154. *JNSI*, Vol. XXXVIII, Pt. I, pp. 61-64.
155. D.C. Sircar, *SI*, Vol. I, p. 263.
156. *JNSI*, Vol. XXXVIII, Pt. I, p. 63.
157. *Ibid.*
158. *Ibid.*, p. 64.
159. *JNSI*, Vol. XVII, Pt. I, p. 119.
160. *BMC,GSKBI*, Pl. IV, 2, 3; Pl. XXX, 5.
161. *Ibid.*, Pl. XXX, 6.
162. *CASE*, Pl. V, 6.
163. See *infra.*
164. *Purātattva* (Bulletin of the Indian Archaeological Society), No.12,51980-81, pp. 152-154.
165. *JNSI*, Vol. XIX, Pt. II, pp. 134-144.
166. *Purātattva*, No. 12, p. 153.
167. See B.B. Singh, *JNSI*, Vol. XLI, pp. 78-81.
168. *Puratattva*, No. 12, p. 153.
169. *JNSI*, Vol. XLI, p. 79.
170. *Ibid.*, pp. 78-79.
171. P.L. Gupta, *Gupta Sāmrājya* (Hindi), pp. 238-240.
172. *JNSI*, Vol. XLI, p. 80. Cf. A.L. Srivastava, *JNSI*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 60.
173. S.R. Goyal, *A History of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 97.,
174. *JNSI*, Vol XLI, p. 81.
175. See *supra.*
176. See *supra*, n. 137.
177. *CGE*, p.28. Samudragupta mentions his name or his *āditya* title on all his coin-types. cf. *GGCBH*, pp. xlvi-xlvii.
178. *BMC, GSKBI*, Pl. IV, 2,3; Pl. xxx, 5.
179. *Ibid.*, Pl. xxx, 6.

180. *CASE*, Pl. v, 6.

181. *JNSI*, Vol. xix, Pt. II, p. 153.

182. *JNSI*, Vol. XIX, Pt. II, p. 141.

183. *JNSI*, Vol XXXVIII, p. 64.

184. *Ibid.*, p. 63.

185. *JBORS*, Vol. XIX, p. 91.

186. Sohoni, *JNSI*, Vol. V, Pt. I, p. 38.

187. *JBORS*, Vol. XIX, p. 91.

188. Presumably because Kumāradevī's father had no male issue and, hence, she was the only heir to the Lichchhavi state.

189. *GGCBH*, p. xlii.

190. Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya, however, does not believe that Kumāradevī was necessarily a princess of the Lichchhavi clan. He believes that she was revered more for her Lichchhavi descent and nationality than because of her being a Lichchhavi princess. See *Early History of Northern India*, pp. 143-144.

191. *CGE*, p. 31.

192. *JASB,NS*, Vol. III, 1937, p. 108.

193. T.P. Verma, *JNSI*, Vol XXXIII, Pt. I, p. 45.

194. *JNSI*, Vol. XXXIII, Pt. I, p. 45.

195. *VGA*, pp. 128-129. Cf. *JNSI*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 61.

196. In a note on p. 81, *JNSI*, Vol. XLI.

197. See *supra*.

198. *JNSI*, Vol. V, Pt. I, pp. 40-41.

199. See *supra*.

200. *JNSI*, Vol. V, Pt. I, p. 38.

201. All these figures are on p. 39, *JNSI*, Vol. V, Pt. I.

202. See n. 201 above.

203. *Ibid.*

205. *Ibid.*, p. 40.

206. In his work *Ásar-e-Azam*.

207. *JNSI*, Vol. V, Pt. I, p. 40.

208. *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.

209. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

210. *Ibid.*

211. *Ibid.*

212. *JNSI*, Vol. V, Pt. II, p. 145 ff.

213. *JNSI*, Vol.V, Pt. II, p. 145.

214. *Ibid.*, pp. 145-146.

215. *Rāmāyaṇa*, V, Chapters 38 and 39.

216. *Abhijñāna Śākuntala*, Act VI.

217. *JNSI*, Vol. V, Pt. II, p. 146.

218. *CGE*, p. 140, Pl. IX, 6.

219. *Ibid.*, p. 213, Pl XIV, 4.

220. In *JNSI*, Vol. V.

221. *JNSI*, Vol. XIX, Pt. II, pp. 151-152. For details of the changed view, see *supra*.

222. *JNSI*, Vol. XIX, Pt. II, p. 148.

223. See *supra*.

224. *JNSI*, Vol. XIX, Pt. II, p. 148. Sohoni says that the Lichchhavis helped Samudragupta against his step-brothers and the Nāga kings. See *ibid.*, p. 148.

225. *Ibid.*, p. 153.

226. *JNSI*, Vol XIX, Pt. II, p. 153.

227. See *supra*.

228. *CGE*, pp. 26-27.

229. E.g., in *ibid.*, Pl. I, 8.

230. E.g., in *ibid.*, Pl. I, 11, 12.

231. E.g., in *ibid.*, Pl. I, 10.

232. *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.

233. *Coins of Mediaeval India*, p. 12.

234. S.K. Maity, *Early Indian Coins and Currency System*, p. 112, *JNSI*, Vol. XLIII, Pt. II, P. 48.

235. See his Aśvamedha type, *infra*, Chapter IX.

236. *CGE*, p. 140, Pl. IX, 6.

237. *Ibid.*, p. 213, Pl. XIV, 4.

238. *Ibid.*, Pl. XXVI, 24. Smith regarded the type as King-and-Queen type (*JRAS*, 1889, p. 110). Allan (*BMC,GD*, pp. xcviii-c) and Altekar (*CGE*, p. 245), however, regard the female figure on the obverse of this coin as that of Lakṣmī.

239. *JNSI*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 83-84.

240. *JNSI*, Vol. XLI, pp. 47-50.

241. *JNSI*, Vol. XLIV, p. 48, Pl. IV, 10.

242. *JNSI*, Vol. XLIII, Pt. II, p. 56, Pl. II, 4.

243. *JNSI*, Vol. XLI, p. 47. He reaches this conclusion because of the presence of traces of gold in these coins.

244. On the coin published by O.P. Singh, this crescent is present between the heads of the royal pair. See *JNSI*, Vol. XLIV, p. 48, Pl. IV, 10.

245. *JNSI*, Vol. XLIII, Pt. II, pp. 58-59.

246. This has been pointed out by O.P. Singh, *JNSI*, Vol. XLIV, p. 48.

247. *JNSI*, Vol. XLIV, p. 51, where O.P. Singh says, "Non-occurrence of Brāhmī letters on the gold coins suggests these pieces were issued after the silver currency."

248. *Art in Gupta and Post-Gupta Coinages*, p. 16.

249. *Ibid.*, p. 30, n. 28.

250. *CGE*, p. 287.

251. *JNSI*, Vol. XLIII, Pt. II, pp. 56-57, Pl. II, 4 ; JNSI, Vol. XLI,p. 48; *JNSI*, Vol. XLIV, p. 48, Pl. II, 10.

252. We have already discussed the reason for this. See *supra*.

253. *Later Indo-Scythians*, Pl. II, 12 ; also *CGE*, Pl. I, 5.

254. See *Ibid.*, p. 18.

255. *JNSI*, Vol. XI, p. 15.

256. *CGE*, p. 19.

257. *CGE*, Pl. IX, 6.

258. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

259. See the *Prayāga Praśasti*, lines 28-29, *CII*, Vol. III, No. 1; Bilsad Rock Inscription of Kumāragupta I, lines 3-4, *ibid.*, No. 10; Bhitari Rock Inscription of Skandagupta, lines 3-4, *ibid.*, No. 13. etc.

260. See *History of India*, 150 A.D.-350 A.D., pp. 113-118.

261. See R.K. Mookerji, *The Gupta Empire*, p. 13.

262. *History of India*, 150 A.D. - 350 A.D., p. 113, and fn. 4.

263. R.K. Mookerji, *The Gupta Empire*, p. 14.

264. *Prakaṭita-varṇāśrama-pathamunmūlita Chaṇḍasena- rājakulam. Act V.*

265. R.K. Mookerji, *The Gupta Empire*, p. 14.

266. See *supra*.

267. B.S. Sitholey, *JNSI*, Vol X, p. 127.

268. *Ibid.*

SECTION II
COMMEMORATIVE MEDALLIONS

6
COMMEMORATIVE MEDALLIONS OF THE INDO-GREEK RULERS

The commemorative nature of the coin described below is beyond doubt :

Obv. : Head of Diodotos [I], diademed to r.; within pellet border.

Rev. : Zeus striding to l.; hurling thunderbolt with r. hand; aegis in l. hand, which is extended; eagle and wreath in front at the feet of the deity. Monogram, *Gr.* legend : ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ (r.) ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (l.).[1]

Silver. Round. (Pl.VIII, 5).

The head that occurs on the obverse of this coin seems to be that of an elderly man. Whitehead describes it as bust of king (Diodotos), without distinguishing between the two Diodoti.[2] Cunningham, who regarded all the elderly portraits as those of Diodotos II, regarded the portrait on this coin, too, as that of the second Diodotos.[3]

Diodotos II, as pointed out by Narain,[4] is represented on his own issues as a young man, and as such, the portrait on the coin

in question cannot be that of Diodotos II, and has to be of the first ruler of that name.[5] Lahiri supports the view of Narain, and regards the head on the coin to be that of diodotos I.[6]

The coin under discussion was initially believed to be the normal issue of Diodotos, and was generally ascribed to Diodotos I. Cunningham, however, ascribed this coin to Diodotos II,[7] for reasons already mentioned above. Whitehead assigned it to Diodotos; he does not distinguish between Diodotos I and Diodotos II.[8] Macdonald was perhaps the first to point out that this coin is not a regular issue of Diodotos, but a commemorative medallion.[9] He says that the reverse inscription of this coin, ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, is exactly similar to the obverse inscriptions of the coins of Agathokles and Antimachos commemorating Diodotos [I].[10] The royal title, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ is conspicuous by its absence, and in its place, which is as remarkable, there appears the title ΣΩΤΗΡ. "The style and fabric, too, are out of harmony with those of the regular coinage of Diodotos." The die arrangement is ↑↑, as against ↑↓ which was the invariable custom in Bactria before the time of Euthydemos I. Finally, the monogram, which occurs on this coin, does not occur on the issues of Diodotos or his immediate successor, and occurs frequently on later coins. Because of these reasons, Macdonald comes to the conclusion that these coins do not really belong to Diodotos, but are commemorative medals, struck most probably by Demetrios I, as the monogram on these coins first appears on the regular coins of Demetrios I, and the die adjustment shows that the ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ coins cannot be placed later than Demetrios I.[11]

Tarn, regarding the reasons given by Macdonald to treat these coins as commemorative medals, says that they "appear to me to be conclusive."[12] He, too, regards these issues as commemorative

medals struck by Demetrios I, and says that though Demetrios II could possibly have struck these pieces, he would necessarily have put on them the word BASILEYONTOS and his name, following Agathokles and Antimachos.[13] Thus, these coins were the only commemorative medals struck by Demetrios I.[14] The theory of Macdonald regarding the nature and attribution of these coins has also been accepted by A.N. Lahiri.[15]

A.K. Narain, however, feels, "There is nothing to support the theory of Macdonald that they are commemorative medals issued by Demetrius,"[16] as they do not bear the name of Demetrios.[17] But he does not seem to be justified in saying that the coins under discussion do not bear any feature of later Indo-Greek commemorative medals.[18] As has already been pointed out, the reverse inscription on these coins is exactly similar to the obverse inscriptions on the coins of Agathokles and Antimachos commemorating Diodotos. Narain also states that the die adjustment ↑↑ is noticed on some of the coins of Diodotos himself in H.L. Haughton's collection and in the British Museum Collection,[19] and says, "it is difficult to make any major point on the basis of die adjustments unless of course a very large number of coins are personally examined."[20] As such, he regards these coins as the issues of Diodotos I himself. But he is still unable to account for the appearance on these coins of the monogram, which makes its first appearance on the normal coins of Demetrios I.[21] He has also not explained the absence of the title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, which would have been present had these coins been the normal issues of Diodotos I. Therefore, these coins should be regarded as commemorative medals struck, most probably, by Demetrios I, as suggested by Macdonald.[22]

Diodotos does not take the title of ΣΩΤΗΡ on any of his normal coinage.[23] Only on the coins of Agathokles and Antimachos, commemorating him alone is he given this title of "Saviour". From this, it appears that notwithstanding Narain's opinion to the contrary,[24] Diodotos did not assume the title of ΣΩΤΗΡ in his life-time, and it was only after his death that his successors used this title for him while commemorating him on their coins,[25] for the coins under discussion, which were the only evidence to show that he adopted the title of ΣΩΤΗΡ, are commemorative medals issued after the death of Diodotos,[26] struck most probably by Demetrios.

COMMEMORATIVE MEDALLIONS OF AGATHOKLES

The Indo-Greek ruler, Agathokles, is known to have struck five (possibly six) coin-types commemorating earlier historical personalities - Macedonian, Syrian, Graeco-Bactrian, and Indo-Greek. Similarly, Antimachos, too, is known to have issued two types of commemorative medallions, in honour of Diodotos and Euthydemos.

These commemorative medallions have certain peculiar characteristics. The obverse shows the head of the commemorated king, and the Greek legend gives the name of this king, without the royal title of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, but with an additional title like ΣΩΤΗΡ, ΘΕΟΣ, etc.[27]

The reverse bears the figure of some divinity, and the legend on that face, also in Greek, gives the name of the issuing prince. A noteworthy feature of the reverse legends on the commemorative medallions of these two princess is that the prince does not take the titled of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, but ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ.

M. de Bartholomaei is of the view that ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ denotes a title superior to ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Dróysen, however, argued that ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ denotes a subordinate position, and is inferior to ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ.[28] The view of Droysen is supported by Cunningham.[29] The title of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ occurs on a coin of Arsakes XII of Parthia, who served his father as a subordinate king. If this coin was issued during the life-time of the father of Arsakes XII, as Cunningham supposes, it must of necessity be an inferior title to ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ."[30]

Cunningham renders it as lieu-tenant.[3] [1]However, in two Ptolemaic epigraphs, the Rosetta Stone[32] and the Tanaitic inscription,[33] the term ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ appears simply to man "during the reign".[34] It is now accepted by most of the scholars that ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ on the commemorative medallions of Agathokles and Antimachos, too, occurs in this very sense.[35]

On their commemorative medallions, Agathokles takes the title of ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ, while Antimachos has the title of ΘΕΟΣ. The reverse device is usually the characteristic device of the king commemorated on the obverse.[36]

It may also be mentioned here that except in case of the portraiture of Alexander, "there is no attempt at an exact reproduction" of the portrait of the commemorated ruler.[37]

It is not certain whether these commemorative medallions were in circulation and passed as normal coinage, or were cherished as souvenirs. Macdonald, however, believed that they were "doubtless meant to pass current as money."[38]

Agathokles commemorated Alexander, son of Philip, on his coins. The medallion-type is described below.

Obv. : Head of Alexander in lion's scalp to r.; whole within

pellet border. *Gr.* legend : ΑΛΕΧΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ϕΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ.

Rev. : Enthroned Zeus facing l.; eagle in r. hand; long sceptre in l. hand; back of throne visible. *Gr.* legend : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ (r.) ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ (exergue) ΑΓΑθΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ(l.).[39]

Silver. Round. (Pl. VIII, 6).

Antiochos is also commemorated on the following coin-type of Agathokles.

Obv. : Diademed head of Antiochos to r.; within pellet border. *Gr.* legend : ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ (r.)ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ (l.), written vertically .

Rev. : Naked Zeus striding to l.; hurling thunderbolt with r. hand; aegis in extended l. hand; eagle at the l. foot of the deity; wreath between aegis and eagle.

Gr. legend : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ(r.) ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ (exergue) ΑΓΑθΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ (l.).[40]

Silver. Round. (Pl. VIII, 7).

Who among the first three Antiochi of Syria is the Antiochos Nikator of these coins ? Gardner is of the view that "The balance of evidence is greatly in favour of Antiochos I or II."[41] Cunningham, however, regards this Antiochos as Antiochos Megas, i.e., the third Antiochos.[42] It must be pointed out that neither of these three Antiochi had assumed the title of NIKATOP given to the Antiochos of these coins. Von Sallet has, however, pointed out, and probably rightly, that the reverse device on this coin-type is characteristic of Antiochos II, and as on these commemorative pieces, the reverse device adopted is the characteristic device of the ruler

commemorated on the obverse,[43] the ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡ of these coins might be Antiochos II.[44] This view also has the support of Macdonald.[45]

Diodotos is given the title of ΣΩΤΗΡ on the coins struck to commemorate him by Agathokles. This title is not known to have been borne by Diodotos in his life-time, and seems to be given to him by his successors on their commemorative medallions issued after his death,[46] as already stated. The description of coin-type is as below :

Obv. : Head of Diodotos [I][47] to r.; diademed. Gr. legend : ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ (r.) ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ(l.), written vertically.

Rev. : Naked Zeus striding to l.; hurling thunderbolt with r. hand, aegis in extended l. hand; eagle at the l. foot of the deity'; wreath between aegis and eagle. *Gr.* legend : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ (r.) ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ (exergue) ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ (l.).[48]

Silver. Round. (Pl. VIII, 8.)

Agathokles commemorated Euthydemos on his following coin-type :

Obv. : Head of Euthydemos I to r.; diademed. *Gr.* legend : ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ (r.) ΘΕΟΥ (l.), written vertically.

Rev. : Naked Herakles, bearded, seated on rock to l.; in r. hand, club, which rests on r. knee (or rock[49]); l. hand rests on rock. *Gr.* legend : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ (r.) ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ(exergue), ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ (l.).[50]

Silver. Round. (Pl. VIII, 9).

Agathokles also struck the coin-type described below, commemorating Demetrios Aniketos, probably his father.[51]

Obv. : Bust of Demetrios [I], diademed; wearing elephant's

scalp, to r.; within pellet border. *Gr.* legend : ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ (r.) ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ(l.).

Rev. : Naked Herakles, bearded; standing facing; club and lion's skin in l. hand; crowning himself with r. hand. *Gr.* legend : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ (r.) ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ (exergue) ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ (l.).[52]

Silver. Round. (Pl. IX. 1).

P.L. Gupta has published a commemorative medallion of Agathokles, struck in honour of Pantaleon, probably his brother.[53]

Obv. : Head of Pantaleon, diademed, to r. *Gr.* legend : ΠΑΝΤΑΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ (r.)ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (l.), written vertically.

Rev. : Enthroned Zeus; sceptre in l. hand; standing Hekate on outstretched r. hand. *Gr.* legend : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ (r.) ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ (exergue) ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ (l.).[54]

Silver. Round. (Pl. IX, 2.).

Only two coins of this type are known so far - one, published by P.L. Gupta, which is presently in a collection in the United States of America;[54a] another, published by Henri-Paul Francfort, which was obtained in the Kabul market, along with another commemorative medallion of Agathokles bearing on the obverse the name of Euthydemos.[55]

It was earlier conjectured that Pantaleon predeceased Agathokles.[56] This surmise is confirmed by this coin-type.[57]

The title of ΣΩΤΗΡ, given to Pantaleon on this coin-type, does not occur on the coins of Pantaleon himself, and Agathokles appears to have given this title of his own choice - of course, they

are very commonly used for majority of the Indo-Greek kings on coins, - to his brother,[58] as he did also in the cases of Diodotos, Euthydemos, and Antiochos.[59]

COMMEMORATIVE MEDALLIONS OF ANTIMACHOS

As already mentioned, Antimachos commemorated on his coins, Diodotos, and Euthydemos. The first type is as described below :

Obv. : Head of Diodotos [I], diademed, to r. *Gr.* legend; ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ (r.) ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (l.), written vertically.

Rev. : Zeus striding to l.; hurling thunderbolt with r. hand; aegis on extended l. arm; eagle at the l. foot of the divinity; wreath between eagle and aegis. Gr. legend : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ (r.) ΘΕΟΥ (exergue) ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ (l.).[60]

Silver. Round. (Pl. IX, 3).

The coin-type struck by Antimachos in honour of Euthydemos may be described as follows :

Obv. : Head of Euthydemos [I], diademed, to r. *Gr.* legend : ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ (r.) ΘΕΟΥ (l.), written vertically.

Rev. : Naked Herakles, bearded, seated on rock to l.; in r. hand, club resting on his r. knee; l. hand rests on rock. *Gr.* legend : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ (r.) ΘΕΟΥ (exergue) ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ (l.).[60a]

Silver. Round. (Pl. IX, 4).

It must be mentioned here that no king of any of the western

dynasties refers to himself as ΘΕΟΣ, "the god", before Antiochos IV of Syria, while Antimachos refers to himself as ΘΕΟΣ both on his commemorative medallions, as has been seen, as well as on his normal coinage.[61] This Antimachos, according to Tran,[62] was a senior contemporary of the Syrian monarch. So, Tarn suggests, the Seleukid might have borrowed it from Antimachos.[63] The Euthydemid kings were not regarded as gods in their life-time, and it was only after his death that Euthydemos I was deified by Agathokles and Antimachos on their commemorative meddallions. Tarn is of the view that Antimachos adopted this title out of irony. He says, "And irony might be the explanation of Antimachos' adoption of the divine title."[64] Alexander, too, is known to have been ironical about his divinity.[65]

COMMEMORATIVE MEDALLIONS OF EUKRATIDES

The Indo-Greek ruler, Eukratides I, is know to have commemorated his parents, Heliokles and Laodike,[66] on two of his coin-types.

TYPE 1

Obv. : Busts of Heliokles and Laodike, jugate to r; Heliokles is bare-headed, while Laodike, diademed; within astragalus border. *Gr.* legend : ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ (above) ΚΑΙ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΗΣ (below).

Rev. : Bust of king (Eukratides I) diademed ; wearing smooth helmet, to r.; within astragalus border; *Gr.* Legend : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΗΣ.[66a]

Silver. Round. (Pl. IX, 5).

TYPE 2

Obv. : Busts of Heliokles and Laodike, jugate, to r., within astragalus border, as on Type 1. *Gr.* legend :

ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΗΣ

Rev. : Bust of Eukratides I, diademed and helmeted, to l.; thrusting javelin with r. hand. *Gr.* legen : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ.(above) ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΗΣ (below)[67]

Silver. Round. (Pl. IX, 6).

It is noticed here that while on the commemorative medallions of Demetrios, Agathokles, and Antimachos, the reverse device adopted is the characteristic device of the ruler commemorated on the obverse, on these two commemorative coin-types of Eukratides, the reverse device consists of the bust of Eukratides himself in two different postures. Macdonald explains this by saying that as Heliokles and Laodike had struck no coins of their own, Eukratides "utilised his own portrait" on the reverse.[68] But to differentiate between his own normal coinage and commemorative medallions appealing to the memory of Heliokles and Laodike, he puts his name on the latter in the nominative -ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΗΣ - rather than in the genitive - ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ - "very much in the spirit in which Agathokles and Antimachos employed ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ in place of the normal ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ."[69]

That these two types of Eukratides are commemorative medallions is beyond doubt, for they compare favourably with the commemorative medallions struck by Agathokles and Antimachos in almost every respect.[70] There has, however, been some controversy regarding the identification of Heliokles and Laodike, the two persons commemorated on the obverse. Von Sallet [71]-

Droysen had earlier hinted at this[72] - has propounded the theory that Heliokles of these coins was the son and successor of Eukratides, and Laodike was the daughter of Demetrios by a Seleukid princess,[73] the daughter of Antiochos III, and that Eukratides is here commemorating their marriage, which was of great significance, politically, as it marked the reconciliation of the Euthydemid and the Eukratid houses, the two rival Indo-Greek royal families.

Macdonald, however, regards this theory as "inadmissable".[74] Cunningham had earlier suggested that Heliokles and Laodike were the parents of Eukratides, rather than his son and daughter-in-law.[75] He is of the view that Laodike was the daughter of either Antimachos or Agathokles.[76] that Heliokles and Laodike were the parents of Eukratides is also the view held by Gardner.[77] He points out that while Heliokles does not wear a diadem, the invariable sign of royalty in the Greek East, Laodike is seen wearing a diadem, which shows that Heliokles was probably not of royal parentage, but Laodike was of royal parentage, a princess in her own right.[78] The portraits of Heliokles and Laodike on these two types are of two elderly persons, which lends additional support to the view that they were the parents, and not the son and daughter-in-law of Eukratides.[79] Gardner further says that the names of Heliokles and Laodike in the genitive case, and that of Eukratides in the nominative case almost compels one to understand the word ΥΙΟΥ, thus making the whole legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΗΣ (ΥΙΟΥ) ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΗΣ, King Eukratides, (son) of Heliokles and Laodike'.[80] Eukratides, therefore, is here proclaiming his parentage. Finally, Gardner says that on careful comparison, the portrait of Heliokles on the commemorative medallions of Eukratides[81] resembles that

of Eukratides,[82] rather than that of Heliokles,[83] the son and successor of Eukratides. This, Gardner suggests, "may be best accounted for by proposing that the artist constructed the head of the elder Heliocles after his death, on the analogy of that of his son, Eucratides."[84] Here, we would also like to add that had Heliokles been the son of Eukratides, he would almost certainly have been represented with a diadem, especially when his wife is shown wearing a diadem. Therefore, it becomes quite evident that Heliokles and Laodike were the parents of Eukratides, and that Heliokles never became a king. This view has been accepted by most of the scholars.[85]

The identity of Laodike, too, is a problem. Now, we cannot accept von Sallet's view that she was the daughter of Demetrios, for it will make Eukratides the grandson of his arch-enemy, Demetrios, an "impossible conclusion."[86]

Macdonald and Tarn are of the view that Laodike was a Seleukid princess,[87] Laodike being a common name in the royal family of Syria.[88] According to Tarn, Laodike was a daughter of Seleukos II, whose type, mounted Dioskuri, was adopted by Eukratides, the son of Laodike. This would mean that Laodike was a sister of Antiochos III of Syria.[89]

Regarding Heliokles, Tarn suggests that as he is shown without a diadem, he was a common man- a great commoner - "general of some satrapy" under Antiochos III, for he "could hardly have given his sister to a lesser man."[90] He says that Heliokles was supposedly not a mere general, but the governor of the upper (eastern) provinces. He had succeeded Antiochos IV in that office, and was himself succeeded in the same office by his son, Eukratides.[91]

Now we would discuss the significance of the commemorative issues of Agathokles, Antimachos, and Eukratides. In 1843, M. de Bartholomaei published the coin of Agathokles bearing the head and name of Diodotos on the obverse, and ascribing the issue of this coin to Agathokles, regarded it as a posthumous honour to Diodots.[92] This view was supported by the French Academician, Raoul Rochette in 1844.[93]

Droysen, however, came forth with the view that the title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ, used for Agathokles on this coin denotes "the subordinate position of Agathokles to his contemporary suzerain, Diodotos",[94] thus, making this a joint issue of Diodotos and Agathokles. This view found the support of Thomas,[95] as well as of Cunningham, who says that "the subsequent discoveries of other coins,[96] which show that Agathokles held exactly the same relation to Euthydemos Theos and to Antiochos Nikator, prove that this is the only true deduction which the coins afford."[97] He also suggests that Antimachos, too, was subject to Diodotos, on the basis of the coin bearing the name of Diodotos on the obverse, and that of Antimachos on the reverse.

To explain the presence of the names of Diodotos, Euthydemos, and Antiochos on the coins of Agtathokles, and of Diodotos on the coins of Antimachos as the superior king, Cunningham says that Diodotos I, Antimachos Theos, and Pantaleon were the original revolters against the Seleukid authority. Of these, Pantaleon died early, and was succeeded by his younger brother or son, Agathokles.[98]These princess were subjugated by Diodotos II, the son and successor of Diodotos I, and this Diodotos II appears on the coins of Agathokles and Antimachos as ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ.[99]

After some time, Euthydemos invaded Bactria, and dispossessed Diodotos II, Antimachos, and Agathokles. Cunningham says that while Diodotos II and Antimachos[100] were killed in battle, or otherwise disposed of, Agathokles escaped annihilation by accepting the suzerainty of Euthydemos. It was during this period that the issue of the coins bearing the head and name of Euthydemos on the obverse, and the name Agathokles on the reverse, have to be placed.[101] It was to these three princess, Diodotos II, Antimachos, and Agathokles, that Euthydemos refers in his statement to Antiochos Megas that "he had not rebelled against the king (Seleukid), but had acquired possession of Bactria by dethroning the descendants of those who had first revolted."[102]

Cunningham further suggests that when Antiochos III invaded the East, Agathokles took advantage of his presence "to make an attempt to free himself from the hated yoke of Euthydemos."[103] He is supposed to have tendered his submission to Antiochos, and to have invited him to conquer Bactriana and Ariana. To this period have to be assigned the coins bearing the "joint names" of Antiochos and Agathokles. Antiochos, however, gave up his campaign in the East to wage war against Ptolemy Philopator in the West, in which he was defeated. The withdrawl of Antiochos from the scenes in the East once again left Euthydemos as the master of that region, and he soon deprived Agathokles of his dominions.[104]

This scheme for the reign of Agathokles cannot, however, be acceptable in view of the discovery of the coins of Agathokles bearing the name of Alexander. The obverse of this type is similar to that of his other coins bearing the names of Diodotos, Euthydemos, and Antiochos. If we regard the last three coin-types

as joint issues showing Agathokles as the subordinate of these three rulers mentioned on the obverse, at different stages of his career, it follows naturally that Agathokles served under Alexander, too, which is absurd, chronologically. These coins of Agathokles bearing the name of Alexander have to be regarded as commemorative medallions struck by Agathokles in honour of Alexander, and as such, all similar issues of Agathokles and Antimachos have, naturally, to be regarded as commemorative coins.

It must also be pointed out that had Diodotos, Euthydemos, and Antiochos been served by Agathokles as a subordinate ruler, it would be difficult to explain the absence of the royal title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ for these three rulers on his coins. The commemorative nature of these coins,[105] therefore, cannot be doubted.

Von Sallet was perhaps the first scholar to propose that these commemorative medallions of Agathokles, Antimachos, and Eukratides are actually pedigree coins, through which these rulers proclaimed their right to rule as the legitimate successors of the Macedonians and the Seleukids.[106]

Macdonald supports this theory of von Sallet and remarks, "The coins were doubtless meant to pass current as money, but it seems certain that they were also designed to serve as political manifestos."[107] He further says that Agathokles and Antimachos "were obviously intent on upholding the banner of Demetrius and his dynasty, whose claim to the Bactrian crown the commemorative coins represent as derived directly from Alexander the Great, heedless of the violent breaks that had marked the accession first of Diodotus and then of Euthydemus."[108] Macdonald believes that these manifestos were aimed against Eukratides, the rival of the House of Euthydemos.[109]

Eukratides, on the other hand, based his claims on the Syrian (Seleukid) connection of his mother, Laodike, who, it is believed, was a Saleukid princess.[110] That Eukratides had claim to the crown through his mother can be understood from the following. First, if he had claim to the crown through his father, there would have been no need to appeal to the memory of his mother by commemorating her on his monetary issues. Secondly, on these coins, Heliokles is shown bareheaded, i.e., without a diadem, while, as noticed earlier, the portrait of Laodike is diademed.[111]

Macdonald conjectures that it might have been in the interest and with the encouragement of Antiochos IV Epiphanes, who wished to re-establish Seleukid rule in Central Asia, that Eukratides first raised the standard of revolt against the Euthydemid house.[112] He suggests that this supposition would explain the commemoration of Laodike, a Seleukid princess, and of the introduction into his coinage, of the Seleukid bead-and-reel border, by Eukratides.[113]

Gardner also regards these coins of Agathokles as pedigree coins in which he (Agathokles) "traces his political pedigree through Euthydemus I, Diodotus, and an Antiochus, to Alexander the Great himself."[114]

Tarn supports the view of Macdonald, and also elaborates upon it. He holds that Laodike was the daughter of Seleukos II of Syria, and was married to Heliokles, the general and governor (?) of the upper (eastern) satrapies. Heliokles was succeeded by his son Eukratides as a satrap under Antiochos IV, and this Eukratides was commissioned by the latter "to reduce the East to obedience; for that was that official's business, if the king was not going to command in person."[115] Tarn believes that additional proof of the

Seleukid connection of Eukratides is provided by the bull's horn and ear on the helmet of Eukratides in his coin-portraits, which can be seen on the helmet of Seleukos I as well.[116] Dioskuri appearing on the coins of Eukratides, too, is a type of Seleukos II.[117] Therefore, Eukratides' connection with the Seleukids of Syria cannot possibly be doubted.

Tarn also believes that the commemorative medallions struck by Agathokles and Antimachos are the pedigree coins of these two kings, through which they desire to show that the House of Euthydemos was actually Seleukid, and through the Seleukids, the Euthydemids claimed descent from Alexander of Macedonia, for the Seleukids are known to have claimed descent from Alexander.[118] Tarn suggests that Diodotos married a daughter of the Syrian Antiochos II, and the daughter of Diodotos by this Seleukid princess was married to Euthydemos. This makes Agathokles, a descendant of Euthydemos, a Seleukid.[119] We would like to add that Agathokles was probably connected with the Seleukids directly through Demetrios. Antiochos III invaded the East, but Bactria offered a stiff resistance. When the struggle continued for a long time, Antiochos and Euthydemos, the ruler of Bactria, decided to work out a settlement. Euthydemos sent his son, Demetrios, as an envoy to the court of the Seleukid ruler. Polybios[120] says that Antiochos III was so impressed by the young prince that he o[illegible]d him in marriage one of his daughters, and "indicated his willingness to waive all objection to the use of the royal title by Euthydemus."[121] If this marriage actually took place, as there is no reason to believe that it did not, Agathokles, who is believed to be a son of Demetrios,[122] was related to Antiochos III through his mother.[123] As such, it is not necessary to suppose, without any definite evidence, that Euthydemos, the grandfather of Agathokles, had married a

daughter of Diodotos by a Seleukid princess who was a daughter of Antiochos II.[124]

Why were Agathokles, Antimachos, and Eukratides anxious to proclaim their Seleukid descent ? Tarn says that all the Graeco-Macedonian settlers, when they got a chance, showed abiding loyalty to the Seleukid monarch of Syria. He says that when Eukratides proclaimed, through his coins, that he was a Seleukid, the Greek settlers in Bactria rallied under his banner, and "the propaganda of the Euthydemids was a desperate attempt to hold them by showing that they themselves were just as good Seleucids as Eucratides."[125] This, however, does not appear to have cut much ice, and the Euthydemid prince Agathokles was forced to issue six commemorative coin-types, and Antimachos, two, while the Seleukid origin of Eukratides seems to have become patent by commemorating only Heliokles and Laodike.

Tarn suggests that the pro-native policy of the Euthydemids might also have made them unpopular with the orthodox Greek settlers of Bactria, who seem to have regarded "the hellenising Antiochus as a better representative of the Greek world in Asia",[126] and this might have resulted in the sweeping victory of Eukratides against his Euthydemid rivals, for he had come as "the representative of Antiochus."[127] Tarn also believes that the Dioskuri occurring on the coins of Eukratides typify the *twin* saviours - Antiochos and himself. He had come to Bactria on behalf of the Syrian to "save" the East. It is also pointed out that Antiochos IV is called "Saviour of Asia" by Philippos, his minister "for affairs".[128]

Agathokles also seems to have attempted at ensuring the support and loyalty of his Indian (Buddhist) subjects. He is known to have issued two types of coins bearing on the obverse a

Buddhist *stūpa* surmounted by a star, and on the reverse a symbol on one type, and tree-in-railing on the other. The reverse legend on both the types is *Hirañasame* (= Sanskrit, *Hiraṇyāśrama*, 'Golden Hermitage')

TYPE 1

Obv. : Buddhist *stūpa* with star on top.

Rev. : Symbol, with *Kh.* legend : *Hirañasame* (exergue).[129]

Copper. Four-Sided (Pl. IX.7).

TYPE 2

Obv. : Buddhist *stūpa* with star on top. *Kh.* legend : *Agathukreyasa* (exergue).

Rev : Tree-in-railing. Kh. legend : *Hirañasame* (exergue)[129a]

Copper. Four-sided. (Pl. IX, 8)

The absence of the Greek legend on these coin-types is taken as indicative of "Agathokles' desire to canvass Indian support without the knowledge of his Greek compatriots."[130] Inspite of these attempts of the Euthydemids to gain the support and loyalty of the Greeks and the Indians, Eukratides emerged victorious in his struggle with these Euthydemid princes. This victory was celebrated by Antiochos IV by the review of his army at Daphne,[131] and by Eukratides by founding the city of Eukratideia in Bactria,[132] and the issue of his twenty-stater pieces[133]

Narain, however, raises some difficulties in accepting the commemorative medallions of Agathokles and Antimachos as pedigree coins. He says that the Graeco-Macedonian settlers of the East were not loyal to the Seleukids[133a] so these princess had no need to proclaim their Seleukid connection. He further says that the prominent Indo-Greek kings like Euthydemos I, Demetrios

I, Menander, and Demetrios II did not issue commemorative coins to show their family connections.[134] He finds it difficult "to believe that the commemorative medals of the Indo-Greek kings were pedigree coins."[135]

He himself, however, does not explain the actual significance of the Indo-Greek commemorative medallions. Regarding Tarn's theory about the career of Eukratides in Bactria, Narain holds that Eukratides could not have been a cousin of Antiochos IV. He also says that had he been commissioned by Antiochos IV to subdue the East, how could one explain the fact mentioned by Justin[136] that Eukratides had a following of only three hundred soldiers.[137] Narain says that had Eukratides been sent to Bactria by Antiochos IV, he would have mentioned Antiochos III, or Antiochos IV on his commemorative medallions.[138]

Narain is of the opinion that Eukratides was an upstart, the son of some princess "whose claim to the throne had been by-passed."[139] It was this princess who gave " a locus standi to Eucratides in Bactria."[140]

The very fact that only Agathokles, Antimachos, and Eukratides, out of nearly three dozen Indo-Greek sovereigns, issued commemorative medallions, in itself suggests that the issue of these medallions must have been of great significance to these three princess. But to say with certainty that these three princes were showing their pedigree through these commemorative medallions seems to be misplaced at the present state of our knowledge.

References

1. *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 10, unrepresented type (i) ; *CASE*, p. 98, Pl. I; *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 418, coin no. 9, Pl. III; *CGIC*, p. 106, Pl. XI, 6.
2. See *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 10, and p. 9, fn. 1.

3. *CASE*, p. 98.
4. *IG*, pp. 17-18.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *CIGC*, p. 106. Cf. Tarn, *GBI*, p. 73.
7. *CASE*, p. 98.
8. *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 10, and p. 9, fn. 1.
9. *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 405.
10. *BMC, GSKBI*, Pl. IV, 2 (Agathokles); Pl XXX, 6 (Antimachos).
11. *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 406. Also p. 418, coin no. 9.
12. *GBI*, p. 201, fn. 4.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*, p. 201.
15. *CIGC*, p. 37; also, p. 265.
16. *IG*, p. 17.
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*
19 *Ibid.*, p.17 and fn. 7.
20. *Ibid.*
21. See *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 406.
22. *CHI*, Vol. I, pp. 405-406. But why did Demetrios and his successors commemorate Diodotos, who had revolted against the Seleukids, if the main purpose of these commemorative pieces was to show the Seleukid origin of the Euthydemids ?
23. See *PMC*, Vol. I, pp. 9-10.
24. *IG*, p. 17, Narain says that Diodotos I took the title of Soter because "he considered himself the saviour of the Greeks in Bactria." (See *IG*. p. 18).
25 See also coins of Agathokles and Antimachos commemorating Diodotos, *infra*.
26. Cf. *JNSI*, Vol. XXIII, p. 247, fn. 1.
27. We have discussed these titles in a paper contributed to Prof. L. Gopal Felicitation Volume (In press).

28. See *CASE* , p. 108
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 108-109.
30. *CASE*, p. 109.
31. *Ibid.*
32. See *Ibid.*, p. 109.
33. *Revue Archaeologique*, Janvier, 1868, p. 9.
34. *CASE*, p. 109.
35. See Macdonald, *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 405; also Tarn, *GBI*, p. 447.
36. *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 405.
37. *Ibid.*
38. *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 404.
39. *BMC*, *GSKBI*, p. 10. Pl. IV, 1; *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 16, Pl. II, 41; *CIGC*, pp. 74-75, Pl. I, 9.
40. *BMC,GSKBI*, p. 164, XXX, 5; *CASE*, p. 103, Pl. II, 3; *CIGC*, p. 75, Pl. I, 10.
41. *BMC*, *GSKBI*, p. xxviii, fn.
42. *CASE*, p. 116.
43. *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 405.
44. *Ibid.*
45. *Ibid.* See also Tarn, *GBI*, pp. 447-448; Narain, *IG*, p. 551.
46. See *supra*.
47. Cunningham regards him as Diodotos II. See *CASE*, p. 115.
48. *BMC*, *GSKBI*, p. 10, Pl. IV, 2; *CASE*, p. 102, Pl. ii, 1; *CIGC*, p. 75, Pl. I, 11; Prinsep, *Essays*, Vol. I, pp. 27-28..
49. See *BMC,GSKBI*, p. 10.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 10, Pl. IV, 3; *CASE*, pp. 102-103, Pl. ii, 2; *CIGC*, pp. 75-76, Pl. II, 1.
51. See *BMC*, *GSKBI*, p. xxix.
52. *NC*, 1934, p. 229, Pl. III, 1; *CIGC*, p. 76, Pl. II, 2; *NNM(NSI)*, No. 1, p. 9.
53. *JNSI*, Vol. XXXVIII, Pt. II, p. 93.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 93, Pl. VI, 3; *Revue Numismatique*, XVII (6th Series), 1975, pp. 19-22.

54a. *JNSI*, Vol. XXXVIII, Pt. II, p. 94.

55. *Revue Numismatique*, XVII (6th series), 1975, pp. 19-22.

56. *CASE*, p. 110.

57. *JNSI*, Vol. XXXVIII, Pt. II, p. 93.

58. *Ibid.*, pp. 93-94..

59. See *supra*.

60. *BMC,GSKBI*, p. 164, Pl. XXX, 6; *CASE*, p. 100, Pl. i, 5; *CIGC*, p. 87, Pl. VI, 1 : *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 10, Pl. II, 3.

60a. *JNSI*, Vol. XVII, p. 48, Pl. III, 1, 2; *CIGC*, pp. 87-88, Pl. VI, 2. Tarn also refers to this coin, *GBI*, p. 448, fn. 3.

61. *BMC,GSKBI*, p. 12, Pl. V, 1; *PMC*, Vol I, p. 18, Pl. II, 54.

62. *GBI*, p. 91.

63. *GBI*, p. 92.

64. *Ibid.*

65. *Ibid.*

66. It has been suggested that Heliokles and Laodike were the son and daughter-in-law of Eukratides. But we are convinced that they were his parents..

66a. *BMC, GSKBI*, p. 19, Pl VI, 9, 10; *JASB*, Vol. VII, Pl. XXVII, fig. 1; *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 267, Pl. XXI, 7;*CASE*, p. 166, Pl. V, 6; *CIGC*, p. 119, Pl. XV, 2, 3, 4; see *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 407.

67. *IG*, Pl. II, 1; *CIGC*, pp. 119-120, Pl. XV, 5; *Hirsch Sale Catalogue*, 1912, Pl. XIV, 524; *Naville Sale*, 5, Pl. LXXXI, No.2896.

68. *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 407.

69. Ibid.

70. See *Ibid.*

71. *Die Nachfolger Alexanders des Grossen in Baktrien und Indien*, Berlin, 1879, pp. 23 ff., 103.

72. See *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 407.

73. Cf. Rawlinson, *Bactria*, pp. 153-157.

74. *CHI*, Vol. I, pp. 407-408

75. *CASE*, p. 163.

76. *Ibid.*, p. 117.

77. *BMC, GSKBI*, p. xxiv.

78. *Ibid.*

79. *Ibid.*, p. xxiv.

80. *BMC, GSKBI*, pp. xxiv, xxv, Cf. Lahiri, *CIGC*, pp. 36-37; also *CASE*, p. 163.

81. *BMC, GSKBI*, Pl. VI, 9.

82. *Ibid.*, Pl. V. 6.

83. *Ibid.*, Pl. VII, 1, 2.

84. *Ibid.*, p. xxv.

85. Macdonald, *CHI*, Vol. I, pp. 407-408; Smith, *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 5; Tarn, *GBI*, p 196; Narain, *IG*, p. 55; Lahiri, *CIGC*, pp. 36-37.

86. *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 408.

87. *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 408. Also *GBI*, p. 196; *AIU*, p. 110.

88. See also *IG*, p. 53. Narain, however, adds that "Names such as that of Laodice were so commonly used in Greek royal families that we cannot base any theories on their occurrence". *IG*, p.54.

89. *GBI*, p. 197. Cf. Marshall, *Taxila*, Vol. I, p. 31, fn. 1.

90. *GBI*, p. 197. Cf. *IG*, p. 55.

91. *GBI*, p. 197.

92. "*Tetradrachme inedite,frappee sons le regne d' Agathocles, en l'honneur de Diodote I*[r]." See Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol.I, p. 27. Also *CASE*, pp. 107-108.

93. *CASE*, p. 108.

94. *Ibid.*

95. *NC*, (New Series), II, 186.

96. Of Agathokles bearing the names of Euthydemos and Antiochos respectively.

97. *CASE*, p. 108.

98. *CASE*, pp. 110-111.

99. *Ibid.*, p. 115.

100. How then are we to account for the coin of Antimachos with the name of Euthydemos on the obverse ?

101. *CASE*, pp. 115-116.

102. Polybios, x, extract 8. See *CASE*, p. 116, and fn. 19.

103. *CASE*, p. 124.

104. *Ibid.*, pp. 123-125.

105. As suggested by M. de Bartholomaei.

106. See *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 404.

107. *Ibid.*

108. *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 407.

109. *Ibid.*

110. See *supra.*

111. *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 408.

112. *Ibid.*

113. *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 408.

114. *BMC,GSKBI*, pp. xxviii-xxix.

115. *GBI*, p. 197.

116. *Ibid.*, p. 196. Cf. Narain, *IG*, p. 54.

117. *GBI*, p. 197.

118. *GBI*, pp. 446-451.

119. *Ibid.*, p. 448.

120. XI. 34.

121. See *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 397.

122. See the pedigree chart given by Tarn, *GBI*; also Narain, *IG*, p. 181. Chart.

123. Cf. Tarn, *GBI*, p. 201. fn. 1, who says that "Demetrios did *not* marry a daughter of Antiochus III, or Agathocles could just have pointed to his mother, as Eucratides did."

124. Tarn, *GBI*, p. 448.

125. *Ibid.*, p. 202.

126 *GBI*, pp. 202-203.

127. *Ibid.*

128. *GBI*, pp. 205,195 and fn. 1.

129. *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 18, Pl. II, 51.

129a. *Ibid.*, p. 18, Pl. II, 52.

130. M.V.D. Mohan, *The Indo-Greek Coins*, pp. 68-69.

131. Tarn, *GBI*, p. 206.

132. *Ibid.*, p. 207

133. *Ibid.* Also, *infra*, Chapter X..

133a. *IG*, p. 56

134. *Ibid.*

135. *Ibid.*

136. xli. 6.

137. Tarn believes that they were the bodyguards of Eukratides. See *GBI*, p. 200.

138. IG, p. 57.

139. Ibid.

140. Ibid.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VI

HELIOS ON QUADRIGA TYPE OF COIN OF PLATO

There is one more coin-type which, we feel, could be placed in the category of commemorative medallions, though the act *commemorated* (?) on this coin-type is a very hideous one. This coin-type is an issue of Plato, which can be described as follows :

Obv. : Diademed bust of king to r.; helmeted; within fillet border.

Rev. : Helios to r.; radiate; driving a quadriga. Gr. legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ.[1]

Silver. Round.

Justin states that when Eukratides was returning in triumph against his enemies, his son got him assassinated; he "drove his chariot through his blood", and got his dead body cast away, unburied.[2] This parricide son of Eukratides was generally believed to be identical with Heliokles. Narain, however, suggests that the parricide mentioned by Justin was Plato, rather than Heliokles who assumed the title of ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ[3] and as such, would not have killed his father.He further suggests, " It is faintly possible that Justin's statement that 'he drove his chariot through his blood' is connected with the types 'Helios on chariot' drawn by horses on his coins."[4]Thus, Plato is commemorating this act on his coins. Narain says that no succeeding king used this device on his coins, perhaps because of its connection with the parricide[5]

It has been argued[6] that "such an act, whatever its justification at the moment, hardly deserves commemoration." True. But it is also likely that Plato got his father assassinated because of some

political reason, and to proclaim this fact, and to show that he had got Eukratides assassinated, he depicted this event on his coins.

It is equally likely that Plato was not the parricide mentioned by Justin, and that he had no particular motive behind depicting "Helios on quadriga" on his coins. In that case, this coin-type become a normal issue of Plato.

References

1. *BMC,GSKBI*, p. 20, Pl. VI, 11.
2. xli. 6. "*Unde quum se reciperet, a filio, quem socium regni fecerat, in itinere interficeretur*".
3. *IG*, p. 72, and fn.2.
4. *IG*, p. 72.

5 *Ibid.*

6. M.V.D. Mohan, *The Indo-Greek Coins*, p. 128,

COMMEMORATIVE MEDALLIONS OF KUṢĀṆAS

We have already seen[1] that the two coin-types - one bearing the name and bust of Hermaios on the obverse and the name of Kujula Kadphises on the reverse;[2] the other bearing the bust of Hermaios and the name of Kujula Kadphises on the obverse and the name of the Kuṣāṇa king on the reverse as well [3]- could not possibly have been joint issues. Evidence, both numismatic[4] and stratigraphic,[5] does appear to favour the view that Hermaios and Kujula Kadphises could not have been contemporaries. The end of the Yavana rule was followed by the rule of the Śaka Pahlavas in the Kabul region, and the Kuṣāṇas came to power after these Śaka-Pahlavas[5a] Rapson is of the opinion that there was a gap of at least seventy years between the end of the Indo-Greek rule, and the beginning of the Kuṣāṇa rule under Kujula Kadphises.[6]

Scholars who believe that these coins could not possibly have been struck conjointly by Hermaios and Kujula Kadphises due to their remoteness in time, generally regard these coin-types as "mechanical copies" of the coins of Hermaios which were popular in the region, by Kujula Kadphises.[7]

But this hardly appears to have been the case. As Altekar himself asks, "If the Parthian rulers succeeded the Indo-Bactrians

in the Kabul valley and Taxila, and if the Hermaios type was so popular there as to render its imitation obligatory for the Kushāṇas, we may well ask as to why this type was not imitated by the Indo-Parthian rulers who were the immediate successors of the Greeks."[8]In reply to this, Altekar says that the Scytho-Parthians entered India via the Bolan Pass, and by the time they reached the Kabul valley where the Hermaios type was popular, they had already established their normal coin-type - "King on horseback : deity". They did not think it necessary to change this coin-type for the convenience of the newly conquered people of the Kabul valley. On the contrary, the Kuṣāṇas entered India through the Khyber Pass. Having no coinage of their own, they mechanically copied they Hermaios type, so popular in the Kabul valley.[8a]

Altekar's explanation does not seem to be very convincing. The Scytho-Parthians seem to have ruled for some years in the Kabul valley before the arrival on the scene of Kujula Kadphises.[8b] At that time, the type "king mounted on horseback : deity", which was introduced there by the Scytho-Parthians, must have been current in the Kabul valley. Had the Kuṣāṇas had to imitate the current coin-type of the region, it appears to us that the greater possibility is that they would have imitated this type of the Scytho-Parthians, and not the Hermaios type, which was popular there seventy years before, and the issue of which had been discontinued by the Scytho-Parthian kings. Also, Altekar is of the view that the Kuṣāṇas "had no coinage, or script of their own'[9] But there is indication that before Kujula Kadphises, a predecessor of his, viz., Heraos (or Miaos; the name is uncertain due to doubtful reading) struck coins.

Obv. : Diademed bust of king to r.; with fillet border.

Rev. : King on horseback to r.; bow and quiver tied to saddle;

behind king, Nike to r.; deity crowning the king. *Gr.* legend: "ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΥΝΤΟΣΗΑ□Υ Κ□ΡΡΑΝΟΥ ΣΑΝΑΒ" (last word in exergue).[10]

That this Heraos came before Kujula Kadphises seems to be certain from the fact that while his coins have for a monogram the Greek letter B, none of the types of Hermaios-Kujula Kadphises coins have Greek letters for monograms, and only one type, "bust of Hermaios and name of Kujula Kadphises on the obverse", has Kharoṣṭhī letter for monogram.[11]

To understand the real nature and significance of these issues of Kujula Kadphises, we shall have to take into account some more coin-types of this ruler, with legend referring to Hermaios and/or showing the bust of that ruler.

TYPE 1

Obv. : Bust of Hermaios, diademed, to r. *Gr.* legend : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. ΣΤΗΡΟΣΣΥ *ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ*

Rev : Enthroned Zeus, radiate, to l.; long sceptre in l. hand; r. hand extended forward. *Kh.* legend : *Maharajasa mahatasa Heramayasa.*[12]

Copper. Round.(Pl. IX, 9).

TYPE 2

Obv. : Bust of Hermaios, diademed, to r. *Gr.* legend : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΡΟΣΣΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ

Rev. : Winged Nike (to l.,[13]facing,[14]or to r.[15]), with palm in l. hand and wreath in r. hand. *Kh.* legend : *Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Heramayasa.*[16]

Copper. Round. (Pl. X, 1).

These two types are very crude in execution, and it is generally believed that they were not issued by Hermaios himself, but by his Scytho-Parthian conquerors.[17] Marshall, on the basis of the style of engraving and the legends and monograms, places these coins before the Kuṣāṇas.[18] But Tarn seems to be correct in pointing out that the obverse legend of these two types is identical with the obverse legend on the coin-type bearing the name of Kujula Kadphises on the reverse, and as such, these coin-types should all be ascribed to Kujula Kadphises.[19] This view is supported by other scholars.[20]

Hermaios is not known to have ever assumed the titles of *rajaraja* and *mahata*, the titles which appear on Types 1 and 2 described above. Therefore, these coin-types do not appear to have been mere imitations of the types of Hermaios.[21] There must have been some significant motive behind ascribing these grandiloquent titles to Hermaios.

Bachhofer suggests that as Hermaios appears on the coins of Type 2 as an old man, this was the last issue of Hermaios.[22] B.N. Puri regards this view as correct.[23] Marshall, however, does not accept this view, but regards this as an issue of some Śaka or Pahlava successor of Hermaios.[24] We are, however, convinced that these coins were struck by Kujula Kadphises, for reasons stated above.

TYPE 3

Obv. : Bust of king in conical head-dress, to l. Corrupt and unintelligible *Gr.* legend.

Rev. : Nike standing to l.; wreath in r. hand; palm branch in l. hand. *Kh.* legend : *Maharajasa rajatirajasa Kuṣaṇasa Yavugasa.*[25]

Silver. Round. (Pl. X, 2).

The head-dress here resembles that of V'ima Kadphises. But Marshall attributes this coin-type to Kujula Kadphises.[26]

TYPE 4

Obv. : Diademed bust of Hermaios to r. *Gr.* legend : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΡΟΣΣΥ(above) ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ(below).

Rev. : Diademed Herakles, standing facing; club, resting on ground, in r. hand; lion's skin in l. hand. *Kh.* legend: *Kujula Kasasa Kuṣana Yavugasa dhramaṭhidasa.*[27]

Copper. Round. (Pl.X, 3).

In passing, it may be said that the view of Cunningham that the Herakles on these coins was the Kuṣāṇa god of death,[28] seems to be doubtful.[29]

TYPE 5

Obv. : Diademed bust of Hermaios, to r. *Gr.* legend : ΚΟΖ□ΥΛ□Υ ΚΑΔφΙΖ□Υ Κ□ΡC□Λ□Υ

Rev. : Herakles, standing facing; club, resting on ground, in r. hand; lion's skin in l. hand. *Kh.* legend : *Kujula Kasasa Kuṣana Yavugasa dhramaṭhidasa.*[30]

Copper. Round. (Pl. X, 4).

TYPE 6

Obv. : Diademed head of king, closely resembling that of Roman emperor, to r. *Gr.* legend : ΧΟΡΑΝCΥ ΖΑΟΟΥ ΚΟΖΟΛΑ ΚΑΔΑφΕC

Rev. : King seated on chair to r. ; r. hand extended . Kh. legend:*Khuṣanasa Yauasa Kujula Kaphsasa sachadhramathidasa.*[31]

Copper. Round . (Pl. X, 5).

It is generally believed that the head depicted on these coins is imitated from that of the Roman emperor, Augustus. This identification has been accepted by Gardner,[32] Cunningham,[33] Whitehead [34], and others[35]

Allan, however, points out that the head on this type resembles more closely that of Claudius than that of Augustus.[36]. Narain finds this identification more convincing.[37]

Coomaraswamy and Banerjea are of the view that the figure on the reverse of this type is that of Śiva. [38] But the *triśūla* and the bull, associated with Śiva on the coins of Vima Kadphises, are absent on these coins. [39] Baldev Kumar seems to identify this as some Buddhist figure.[40] Altekar, however, regards this figure as that of the king.[41]

TYPE 7

Obv. : Head of king, diademed, resembling that of Roman emperor, to r. *Gr.* legend :KOZO ΛA KAΔϕEC XOPANCY ZAOOY.

Rev. : Nike.[42]

Copper. Round (?).

Cunningham, who described this coin, also gives the information that this coin was lost by the wreck of *Indus* steamer.[43]

TYPE 8

Obv. : Head of King (Kujula Kadphises), helmeted, to r. *Gr.* legend : KOZOYΛA KA. . . KOPCAN

Rev. : "Macedonian soldier", standing to r.; holding spear and shield. *Kh.* legend : *Kujula Kasasa Kuṣana Yavuasa.*[44]

Copper. Round. (Pl. X, 6).

As to the real nature of the Hermaios - Kujula Kadphises coins, Tarn puts forth a very interesting theory. He suggests that the coins of our Types 1 and 2, which ascribe to Hermaios extravagant titles like ΣΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΥ('Great King'), *rajatiraja*, and *mahata*, which he himself is not known to have assumed, thus projecting him as a much more important king than he really was, are propaganda coins, as well as our Types 4 and 5 , and these types might favorably to compared with the pedigree coins of Agathokles, Antimachos, and Eukratides,[45] dealt with above.[46] Tarn further suggests that through these coin-types, Kujula Kadphises was commemorating Hermaios, and proclaiming that "he is related by blood to Hermaeus in order to make himself more acceptable to the Greeks of that country."[47] He wished to announce to his Greek subjects that he was no foreigner who had come to impose his rule over them, but was their lawful king, being related to the Indo-Greek ruler, Hermaios.[48] Tarn says that this process comprised of three steps. The first step is the issue of the coins of our Types 1 and 2 proclaiming that Hermaios was a very great king. The second step is the issue of the coins of our Type 4, in which the Kuṣāṇa stresses his relationship with Hermaios, who has the more honourable half - the obverse - of the coin. In the third step, which involved the issue of the coins of our Type 5, only the bust of Hermaios is depicted on the obverse, while the obverse Greek legend, as well as the reverse Kharoṣṭhī legend, refer to Kujula Kadphises, who is gradually moving to the forefront, while Hermaios is falling into the background.[49] Finally, Kujula Kadphises issued coins in his name alone.[50] Tarn says that the sequence of these steps "may be notional rather than temporal."[51] He also suggests that the use of Herakles and Nike on the reverse of some of these types might have been to please the Greek subjects,[52] whose

help he also required against the Pahlava rulers of Paropamisadae.[53]

The very name of Kadphises, which means 'the Kapiśa man'[54] as interpreted by Sylvain Levi, might mean that he was considered to have had a title to the throne of Kapiśa.[55]

How was Kujula Kadphises related, if at all, to Hermaios by blood ? Cunningham once suggested that Hermaios gave his daughter in marriage to Kujula Kadphises.[56] Tarn, however, suggests that Hermaios gave his sister in marriage to an ancestor of Kujula Kadphises.[57] This ancestor he identifies with Heraos,[58] who is regarded by Cunningham[59] as the father of Kujula Kadphises, and by Tarn[60] as the grandfather of that ruler. Tarn finds the portrait of Heraos bearing a strong resemblance to some of those of V'ima Kadphises, which he takes as an evidence of V'ima, the son of Kujula Kadphises, being related to Heraos.[61] Heraos, he takes to be some local Kuṣāṇa ruler, and not a full king, as is shown by his title of ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΥΝΤΟΣ,[62] used for him on his coins.[63] Tarn concludes that "when Kujula Kadphises, a descendant of the Kushan yavuga Miaos (the variant reading of Heraos) who had married a relative of Hermaeus, invaded the Paropamisadae, he proclaimed to the Greeks that he came, not as a foreign conqueror, but as their lawful ruler by hereditary relationship to their last king Hermaeus; the coins here considered are the dry bones of that propaganda."[64]

This theory of Tarn is accused of being "too subtle to be acceptable."[65] We are, however, inclined to accept it as an appropriate one, but with slight modifications.

Types 1 and 2,[66] apart from commemorating Hermaios as a very great king, also signified the return to the days of the Indo-Greek rule. By not mentioning his name on these coins, Kujula

Kadphises seems to be trying to convince his Greek subjects that his coming to power is actually the continuation of the rule of the Indo-Greeks.

But simultaneously, he was also issuing his own coin-type without giving his name, but his full titles of *Maharajasa rajatirajasa Kuṣaṇasa Yavugasa*,[67] and his bust on the obverse.

Next, he introduced his name and epithets on the reverse side of the coin in Kharoṣṭhī.[68] Hermaios still has the more important - the obverse - side of the coins. But by introducing his own name, Kujula Kadphises is coming gradually to the forefront. In the next step, Kujula Kadphises retained the bust of Hermaios on the obverse, but he introduced his own name in Greek on this side as well, thus shifting Hermaios to the background.[69] This type shows that by this time, Kujula Kadphises had consolidated his position quite well, and was boldly coming to the forefront. By replacing the bust of Hermaios with that of some Roman emperor, Kujula Kadphises appears to be trying to remove Hermaios totally from his coinage.[70] Finally, he seems to have introduced his own helmeted head on the obverse of his coins along with the Greek legend giving his own name on the obverse, and the "Macedonian soldier" reverse with his own name and titles in Kharoṣṭhī.[71]

Thus, Kujula Kadphises, in order to gain the support of the Greeks against the Pahlava rulers of Paropamisadae, to conciliate them, and to make his rule acceptable to his Greek subjects, struck these coins, appealing to the memory of Hermaios, who was probably related to Kujula Kadphises by blood. As such, these coins bearing either both the bust and name of Hermaios, or only his bust, are, in fact, commemorative coins struck by Kujula Kadphises.

References

1. See supra, Chapter III.

2. See *ibid. BMC, GSKBI*, pp. 120-121, Pl. XXV, 1,2.

3. See *supra* chapter III. *BMC, GSKBI*, p. 122, Pl. XXV, 3,4.

4. See Altekar, *JNSI*, Vol. IX, Pt. I, p.8.

5. See Marshall, *Taxila*, Vol. I, pp. 66-75.

5a. See Narain, *IG*, pp. 159-164.

6. *CHI*, Vol. I. p. 507.

7. See Rapson, *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 506; Bachhofer; *JAOS*, 1941, p. 240; Altekar, *JNSI*, Vol. IX, Pt. I, p. 7; Narain, IG, p. 161.

8. *JNSI*, Vol. IX, Pt. I, p. 8.

8a. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

8b. Rapson, *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 507.

9. *JNSI*, Vol. IX, Pt. I, p. 9.

10. *BMC,GSKBI*, p.116, Pl. XXIV, 7; *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 163, Pl. XVI, 115. Another type - "Bust of king : Standing figure" with incomplete legend - *PMC* Vol. I, p. 164, Pl XVI, 117. For legend, see Tarn, *GBI*, pp. 505-506.

11. See Tarn, *GBI*, p. 505.

12. *BMC,GSKBI*, p.65, *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 84; *CASE*, Pl. XIV, 14;*CIGC*, p. 142, Pl. XXXIV, 13.

13. E.g., *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 85, coin No. 682.

14. E.g., *ibid.*, p. 85, coin no. 690.

15. E.g., *ibid.*, p. 85, coin no. 692.

16. *CASE*, Pl XIV, 15; *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 85, Pl. IX, 682. For legends,see p. 85, fn. 1; *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 33, coin no. 22; CIGC, p. 142, Pl XXI, 13.

17. See Marshall, *Taxila*, Vol. II, p. 764; cf. Wilson , *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 308, who says that these types were issued by a Śaka or Yueh-chih successor of Hermaios.

18. *Taxila*, Vol II, p. 764.

19. *GBI*, pp. 503-504.

20. E.g., Bhaskar Chattopadhyay, *The Age of the Kushāṇas - A Numismatic Study*, pp. 22, 23.
21. *GBI*, pp. 503, 504.
22. *JAOS*, 1941, pp. 240 ff.
23. *India Under the Kushāṇas*, p. 30, n. 1ᴦ.
24. *JRAS*, April, 1947, p. 25.
25. Marshall, *Taxila*, Vol. II, p. 820, coins nos. 258-260, Pl.243.
26. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 211, fn. 1, 212, and fn. 4. Also, Vol. II, pp. 785-786.
27. *BMC,GSKBI*, pp.120-121, Pl.XXV,1,2; *PMC*,Vol.I, pp.178-179 Pl. XVII, 1; *IMC*, Vol. I, pp. 33-34, Pl. VI, 14; *CCK*, p. 26, Pl. XIV, 3.
28. *NC*, 1892, p. 59.
29. See Tarn, *GBI*, p. 504, fn. 5.
30. *BMC,GSKBI*, p. 122, Pl. XXV, 3 , 4; *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 179, Pl.XVII, 8; *IMC*, Vol. I, pp. 65-66, Pl. XI, 1; *CCK*, p. 26, Pl. XIV, 4.
31. *BMC, GSKBI*, p. 123, XXV,5; *PMC*, VoL. Pl. XVII, 24; CCK; p.27, Pl. XIV, 7.
32. *BMC, GSKBI*, p. 123.
33. *CCK*, p.27.
34. *PMC*, Vol.I, p. 181.
35. See,e.g., Puri , *India Under the Kushāṇas*, pp. 13 14.
36. *Cambridge Shorter History of India*, p. 74.
37. *IG*, p. 160, fn. 7.
38. *JNSI*, Vol.IX, Pt. II,p.81.
39. Baldev Kumar, *The Early Kuṣāṇas*, p. 32.
40. *Ibid.*
41. *JNSI*, Vol. IX, pt. I. p.8.
42. *CCK*, p. 27.
43. *Ibid.*
44. *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27, Pl. XIV, 5,6.
45. *GBI*, pp. 503-504.

46. See *supra*, Chapter VI.

47. GBI, p.504.

48. Ibid.

49. Ibid.

50. *PMC*, Vol. I, p.180, Pl.XVII, 18; CCK, Pl. XIV, 5,6.

51. *GBI*, p. 504.

52. *Ibid.*

53. *Ibid.*, p. 339.

54. *JA*, 1923, p.52.

55. Konow, *CII*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. LXVI, n. 3.

56. *CCK*, p. 7.

57. *GBI*, pp. 343, 505.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 505, Cf. B.N. Mukherjee, *The Kushāṇa Genealogy*, p. 45, "However, we do not know the exact relationship between the two last-mentioned rulers."

59. *CCS*, p. 12. Also Ghirshman, *Bégram*, p. 116.

60. *GBI*, p. 505, and p. 506, fn.2.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 505.

62. *Ibid.*, pp. 505-506.

63. *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 163, Pl. XVI, 115.

64. *GBI*, p. 507.

65. Bachhofer, *JAOS*, 1941, p. 240. Tarn, *GBI*, p. 541, himself gave up this view.

66. See *supra*.

67. See our Type 3.

68. See ourType 4.

69. See our Type 5.

70. See our Types 6 and 7.

71. CCK, pp. 26-27 , Pl. XIV, 5 , 6. Also , see *supra*.

8

INDIGENOUS COMMEMORATIVE MEDALLIONS OF THE PRE-GUPTA PERIOD

THE KUṆINDAS

The Kuṇindas were an ancient people who "occupied the hill districts on both sides of the Satlej",[1] or more precisely "a narrow strip of land at the foot of the Siwalik hills between the Jumna and the Sutlej and the territory between the upper courses of the Beas and the Sutlej",[2] appear to have had their capital at Srughna or Sugh on the west bank of the old Yamunā.[3] This conclusion is based on the discovery of the coins of this tribe from "eastern and north-eastern Punjab and the north-western parts of U.P."[4]

The Kuṇinda coins were divided into two main groups by Allan,[5] with the first group consisting of silver and copper coins similar in type, bearing the name of Amoghabhūti, and issued, according to Allan, about the end of the first century B.C., and the second group consisting of large copper anonymous coins, bearing the legend *Bhagavata-Chatreśvara-mahātmanaḥ*, and issued in the third century A.D[7] Rapson places the coins of the second group in the third or fourth century A.D.[8] S.K. Chakrabortty dates the Kuṇinda coins between B.C. 150 and A.D. 200.[9] It is believed by most of the scholars that the Chatreśvara coins are later than the

Amoghabhūti coins.[10] Sircar, however, suggests that "it is also probabley that the coins of both the types belong practically to the same period"[11] and says that it "would not go against palaeographic evidence, if Amoghabhūti, who had a long reign, is assigned to the second or third century A.D."[12]

The coins of the second group do not bear the name of the Kuṇinda tribe, but it is widely accepted that they were issued by this tribe because of the similarity of the reverse of this type with the Amoghabhūti coins.[13] K.K. Dasgupta has divided the Chatreśvara coins into several varieties on the basis of the devices and symbols.[14]

Var. a.

Obv. : Śiva standing facing ; *triśūla-paraśu* in r. hand; l. hand in *kaṭihasta* pose; leopard[15] skin hanging from l. arm; flower or star behind over his l. shoulder. Brāhmī legend : *Bhagavata- Chatreśvara-mahātmanaḥ.*

Rev : Deer standing to l.; S4 above, between its horns; S5 behind the animal; S6 in front; square below deer;S7 above; S8 below; all within dotted border[16]

Copper. Round. (Pl. X, 7).

Var. b.

Obv : Same as the obverse of Variety a; traces of legend.

Rev : Deer standing to l.; S9 on r.; S5, S11, S10 above; S12 below[17]

Copper. Round.

Var. c.

Obv : Same as the obverse of Variety a; traces of legend.

Rev. : Deer standing to r.; S5 on l.; S13 on r.[18]

Copper Round. (Pl. X, 8).

Var. d.

Obv. : Same as the obverse of Variety a; fragmentary legend.

Rev. : Similar to the reverse of Variety c, but S10 below deer.[19]

Copper. Round.

Var. e.

Obv. : Same as the obverse of Variety a; fragmentary legend.

Rev. : Similar to the reverse of Variety a, but without S14.[20]

Copper. Round.

Var. f.

Obv : Same as the obverse of Variety a; fragmentary Brāhmī legend.

Rev. : Similar to the reverse of Variety a, but S12 below deer.[21]

Copper. Round.

Var. g.

Obv. : Same as the obverse of Variety a; same legend.

Rev. : Similar to the reverse of Variety a; S15 and star above deer.[22]

Copper. Round.

Var. h.

Obv : Same as the obverse of Variety a; fragmentary Brāhmī legend.

Rev. : Similar to the reverse of Variety a, with S16 above[23]

Copper. Round.

The obverse legend on these coins was read by Cunningham as *Bhāgavato Chatreswara Mahātanā.*[24] Allan gives it as *Bhāgavata Chatreśvara Mahātraṇa*, in the Catalogue of coins,[25] but corrects it as *Bhāgavata-Chatreśvara-mahātmanaḥ* in the Introduction.[26] Smith writes the last element of the legend as *mahāmanaḥ*,[27] which, as pointed out by S.K. Chakrabortty[28] and others[29] seems to be a printing mistake for *mahātmanaḥ*. Sircar reads the legend as *Bhagavataḥ Chatreśvara-mahātmanaḥ.*[30] Jai Prakash[31] and K.K. Dasgupta [32] read it as *Bhagavata Chatreśvara Mahātmanaḥ.* M.C. Joshi, however reads the second element of the legend as *Chitreśvara.*[33] To Dasgupta, this reading of Joshi seems to be a "laboured" one, for the absence of the sign indicating *i* above *cha* in *Chatraśvara* is too regular to be regarded as a mistake.[34]

The animal on the reverse of this coin-type was believed to be a Himalayan yak by Theobald.[35] H.H. Wilson described it as a stag.[36] Cunningham,[37] Allan,[38] Altekar,[39] K.K. Dasgupta,[40] P. Prakash,[41] Bhaskar Chattopadhyay,[42] and S.S. Singh,[43] however, correctly identify the animal as a deer. This deer is believed to be the theriomorphic representation of Lakṣmī, who is said to be swift-moving and restless like a deer.[44]But Dasgupta points out that as Lakṣmī is represented in anthropomorphic form on the obverse of the first group of the Kuṇinda coins with deer on the reverse, the animal cannot be regarded as the theriomorphic representation of Lakṣmī, for it would mean unnecessary duplication.[45]He himself suggests that the *Māhāmāyūrī*[45a] refers to the Yakṣa Uṣṭrapāda as the tutelary deity of the Kuṇindas; "one may recognise in this animal the Yaksha Ushṭrapāda."[46] P. Prakash regards the animal, which, as stated above, he recognises as a deer, as the tribal insignia of the Kuṇindas.[47] It might also be mentioned here that Cunningham,[48] V.S. Agrawala,[49] and K.P.

Jayaswal[50] regard the deer and the connected symbols as Buddhist symbols. But the occurrence of the deer and the other symbols on the reverse of the coins bearing the figure of Śiva as Chatreśvara on the obverse seems to rule out the Buddhist association of these symbols.[51] P. Prakash points out that deer is also associated with Śiva.[52] S.S. Singh, on the basis of the Indus seal,[53] connects the deer on the Kuṇinda coins with Śiva.[54]

Following the Śaivite interpretation of the deer of Kuṇinda coins, it would appear that in the first phase of their rule, when they issued Amoghabhūti coins, the Kuṇindas worshipped both Lakṣmī and Śiva,[55] but in the second phase of their rule, represented by the Chatreśvara coins, Śiva alone appears to have been venerated by the Kuṇindas.

The S4 symbol is described the Theobald as "two snakes facing one another",[56] and this is accepted by Allan.[57] Cunningham regards all these symbols as Buddhist symbols,[58] as stated above. J.N. Banerjea, however, regards it as a *Śrīvatsa*.[59] Dasgupta finds it "not improbable",[60] though the symbol is somewhat different from the usual *śrīvatsa* symbol. Some scholars like A.K. Coomaraswamy,[61] Rapson,[62], V.S. Agrawala,[63] and Bhaskar Chattopadhyay[64] describe it as *Nāgamudrā*.

The S5 symbol is often described as a "conventional tree-in-railing".[65] But J.N. Banerjea[66] says that it is not a tree with branches and leaves, but "a wooden post well-decorated with flower and jewel garlands", and regards it as the *Indradhvajasampat*, a royal insignia named after Indra, which is described in the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*,[67] and which, according to this text, brings fortunes to its worshipers. This suggestion of Banerjea is supported by Dasgupta.[68]

The three-arched symbol surmounted by what looks like a crescent might represent Kailāsa, the abode of Śiva, the identification being supported by the presence of the crescent, the well-known attribute of the deity.[69]

The curved line on these coins might represent a river. It is also possible that it stands for a snake,[70] which is associated with Śiva, though S.K. Chakrabortty says that it is not a snake.[71] The *svastika* and *nandipada* symbols, the traditional auspicious signs, also occur on these Chatreśvara coins. The triangular-headed symbol S14, recognised by J.N. Banerjea as a *vardhamāna* sign,[72] might also be interpreted as a *vajra* symbol.

Altekar regards Chatreśvara mentioned in the obverse legend as the name of a Kuṇinda ruler.[73] Sircar regards *Chatra* (i.e. *Chhatra*) as the name, or the abbreviation of the name, of the capital city of Kuṇindas, and regards that *Chatreśvara* in the legend refers to Śiva in the form of the lord of the Kuṇinda capital.[74] S.K. Chakrabortty translates the legend as "Of the Almighty Mahādeva, the lord, i.e., the coin dedicated to god Maheśvara."[75] Thus, he takes these coins as pieces dedicated to Śiva. J.N. Banerjea[76] translates it as "Of the holy or worshipful one, the noble souled lord of the Chatra", and concludes that "the tribal state of the Kuṇindas at one time was dedicated to the lord Śiva in the 2nd Century A.D. and the coins were issued in his name in the capacity of a sovereign ruler (the title Chhatreśvara is significant)." This suggestion of Banerjea is supported by Dasgupta,[77] who says that even now at Malan in Kulu tehsil, near the old Kuṇinda territory, Jamlu, the tutelary deity of the village, is reported to be "the ultimate authority and the source of power in the political, judicial, and religious spheres."[78] But Jai Prakash has pointed out that the legend contains no royal titles, and hence,

"the said suggestion seems rather far-fetched.".[78a] Jai Prakash regards these coins as commemorative medals.[79] According to him, the Kuṇindas appear to have believed that Śiva had bestowed the umbrella of independent royalty (*chhatra*) upon them, and issued these coins as commemorative pieces to mark their independence, and to thank their god.[80] As it is believed that the Kuṇindas had been subjugated by the Kuṣāṇas, and that they asserted their independence when the Kuṣāṇa power had been weakened by continuous Sassanian invasions,[81] we find the suggestions of Jai Prakash not without merit.

On the basis of the legends *dvi* and *tri* on Yaudheya coins, Altekar has expressed the opinion that the Yaudheyas had formed a confederacy with the Kuṇindas and the Ārjunāyanas against the Kuṣāṇas, and that as the Kuṇindas were a small state as compared to the Yaudheyas, they probably "eventually coalesced with them."[82] This, according to Altekar, would explain the absence of the coins of the Kuṇindas after A.D. 250, and of their name among the republican people mentioned. in the *Prayāga Praśasti* of Samudragupta.[83] On the basis of this view of Altekar, M.C. Joshi has put forth the suggestion that the Chatreśvara coins, which do not bear the name of the Kuṇinda tribe, were "issued by the composite people consisting of the native (Kuṇindas) and migrated (Yaudheya) elements."[84] But, as Dasgupta points out, the Chatreśvara coins appear to be of a period earlier than the formation of any confederacy, the date of which he places a little before A.D. 350. Also, it is not known if any other member of the confederacy regarded Śiva as their presiding deity.[85] As against this, the reverse of the Chatreśvara coins bears a very close affinity to the reverse of the Amoghabhūti coins, which have definitely to be attributed to the Kuṇindas.[86] As such, there is

hardly anything to negate that these Chatreśvara type coins are the issues of the Kuṇindas alone.

THE YAUDHEYAS

The Yaudheyas were an ancient people, their earliest known reference being found in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini.[87] They ruled over the Punjab, Haryana, North-western parts of U.P., and parts of Rajasthan. On the basis of the discovery of the Yaudheya coin-moulds at Khokra Kot on the outskirts of Rohtak in Haryana,[88] it is believed that "Rohtak and its environs formed the heart of the country of the Yaudheyas."[89]

The classification of the Yaudheya coins is a very controversial issue, and various scholars have classified these coins differently.[90]

There are certain classes of Yaudheya coins bearing the name of Kārttikeya (Brahmaṇya, Kumāra) on one side, which are regarded as commemorative medallions by certain scholars.[91] We have classified these coins into five classes. Class I comprises a unique coin bearing the figure of Kārttikeya and the legend *Bhagavatasvāmino Brahmaṇya Yaudheya* on the obverse, and the figure of a hexacephalous goddess on the reverse.[92] Class II consists of copper coins bearing the figure of Kārttikeya on one side, the six-headed goddess on the other, and the legend *Bhagavatasvāmino Brahmaṇyadevasya Kumārasya* on the obverse. In Class III is a coin with the figure of Kārttikeya on the obverse, and of Śiva on the reverse. Class IV consists of coins showing Kārttikeya on the obverse, and an animal (deer, horse, bull, ass or mule, leopard) on the reverse. We have placed in Class V two coins bearing on the obverse monocephalous Śiva, and on the reverse, a deer, with the incomplete obverse legend mentioning *Ḃhagava-ṭa svāmina* ...[93]

CLASS I

Obv. : Hexacephalous Kārttikeya, standing facing ; spear in r. hand; l. hand resting on hip. Brāhmī legend : *Bhagavata sv[ā]min[o]-Brahmaṇya-Y[au]dheya.*

Rev. : Six-headed goddess standing facing on lotus-bloom. S17 on l.; S5 on r.; curved lined below.[94]

Silver. Round. (Pl. X, 9).

CLASS II

Var. a.

Obv. : As the obverse of Class I. Brāhmī legend : *Bhagavata svāmino Brahmaṇya-devasya Kumārasya.*

Rev. : Goddess, standing facing; r. hand raised; l. hand resting on hip. Symbols same as on the reverse of Class I, with a different arrangement.[95]

Copper. Round. (Pl. X, 10).

Var. b.

Obv. : Kārttikeya, standing facing on lotus, as on the obverse of Class I; vase in r. field; fragmentary inscription, as on Class II, Variety a.

Rev. : Multiheaded goddess standing facing on lotus; tree-in-railing on l.; three-arched symbol on r.[96]

Copper. Round.

Var. c.

Obv. : Kārttikeya, as on the obverse of Class II, Variety a. Traces of legend.

Rev : Goddess, standing facing, as on the reverse of Class II, variety b. S5 on l.; S9 on r.[97]

Copper. Round.

Var. d.

Obv. : Goddess, standing facing; r. hand raised; l. hand on hip. Traces of Brāhmī legend.

Rev. : Kārttikeya, standing facing ; S5 on l.; S9 on r.[98]

Copper. Round. (Pl. XI, 1).

Var. e.

Obv : Kārttikeya, multiheaded, standing facing ; spear in r. hand; l. hand on hip. Blurred inscription. S18 on r.

Rev. : Six-headed (female ?) deity standing facing; tree on r.; S19 on l.[99]

Copper. Round.

Var. f.

Obv. : Kārttikeya, standing facing; spear in r. hand; peacock on r.

Rev. : Polycephalous (female ?) deity; tree-in-railing on r.; S20 (river and/or ladder) below.[100]

Copper. Round.

Var. g.

Obv. : Goddess, standing facing; three-arched symbol to l.; other features blurred, and inscription illegible.

Rev. : Indistinct, probably showing Kārttikeya.[101]

Copper. Round.

Var. h.

Obv. : Kārttikeya, standing facing; spear to his l.; fragmentary inscription.

Rev. : Multiheaded goddess[102] standing facing; r. hand raised; l. hand on hip; six-arched symbol, probably topped by a crescent, and tree-in-railing.[103]

Copper. Round.

CLASS III

Obv. : Hexacephalous Kārttikeya standing facing ; r. hand raised towards spear; l. hand on hip.

Rev. : Three-headed Śiva standing facing; r. hand raised; l. hand on hip; tree-in-railing on r.; arched symbol (?) on l.[104]

Copper. Round. (pl. XI, 2).

CLASS IV

Var. a.

Obv. : Six-headed Kārttikeya, standing facing; spear in r. hand; l. hand on hip. Traces of Brāhmī inscription.

Rev. : Deer to r.; S13 on r.; S5 on l.; S10, S16, S4 above; S8 below.[105]

Copper. Round. (pl. XI, 3).

Var. b.

Obv. : Kārttikeya (single-headed ?) as on Class IV, Variety a.

Rev. : Deer to r.; below river with grassy bank; vase[106] above; indistinct symbol (tree ?) to l. of vase.[107]

Copper. Round.

Var. c.

Obv. : Six-headed Kārttikeya, standing facing. Fragmentary legend

Rev. : As the reverse of Class IV, Variety b. The crude vase[108] has a ring or handle at either side, and some decorating lines on its body and a plant[109] is coming out of its mouth.[110]

Copper. Round.

Var. d.

Obv. : Six-headed Kārttikeya standing facing; r. hand raised; l. hand resting on hip; filleted spear to his r. Traces of Brāhmī inscription.

Rev. : Deer to l.; S5 to r.; S9 on l.; S4, S10 above.[111]

Copper. Round.

Var. e.

Obv. : As the obverse of Class IV, Variety d.

Rev. : Deer to l.; S8 below; S13 and S5 above deer.[112]

Copper. Round.

Var. f.

Obv. : As the obverse of Class IV, Variety d.

Rev. : Deer to l.; S5 on r.; S21 on l.; S4, S16, S10 above.[113]

Copper. Round.

Var. g.

Obv. : As the obverse of Class IV, Variety d.

Rev. : Deer to r. before building : S13 on l.; S10 above, Brāhmī legend above deer : *darma.*[114]

Copper. Round. (Pl. XI, 4).

Allan takes the reverse legend *darma* to stand for *dharma.*[115] It is also likely that it stands for *dramma*, a word derived from the Greek coin denomination drachm.[116] S.K. Chakrabortty interprets

it as "a coin."[117] R.C. Agrawala, however, says that it is not "plausible to read any reference to *dramma* on the coins of the Yaudheyas", for the coin on which this word is believed to have occurred is a copper coin, "while *dramma* denaoted a silver currency."[118] It is true that drachm or *dramma* originally meant a silver coin, but it is quite likely that it might have come to denote a coin irrespective of metal in the course of time.[119]

Var. h.

Obv. : Kārttikeya standing facing ; spear in raised r. hanl. hand on hip. Fragmentary Brāhmī legend mentioning *Brahmaṇyadeva.*

Rev. : Two deers standing, shown one above the other.[120]

Copper. Round.

Var. i.

Obv. : As the obverse of Class IV, Variety h.

Rev. : Horse standing to r. Tree and arched symbol (?) above.[121]

Copper. Round.

Var. j.

Obv. : Traces of Kārttikeya, standing.

Rev. : Bull standing to r.; tree on r.; arched symbol (?) on l.[122]

Copper. Round.

Var. k.

Obv. : Traces of Kārttikeya, standing.

Rev. : Ass (mule ?) standing to r., on some round object; symbols as on the reverse of Class IV, Variety j.[123]

Copper. Round.

Var. l.

Obv. : Indistinct.

Rev. : Leopard standing to l.[124]

Copper. Round.

CLASS V

Var. a.

Obv. : One-headed Śiva; holding trident; traces of legend.

Rev. : Deer standing to l.; arched symbol (?) in l. field.[125]

Copper. Round.

Var. b.

Obv. : As on the obverse of Class V, Variety a. Extant legend : *[Bhagava]-ta svāmina ....*

Rev. : Deer to r.; before S22 .[126] Rest indistinct.[127]

Copper. Round. (Pl. XI, 5).

The depiction of Kārttikeya on the Yaudheya coins conforms to the textual description of the deity. The iconographic texts[128] describe Kārttikeya as holding a spear in his hand, with a peacock "as his main object of cognizance." The Yaudheya coins described above generally show the deity as holding a spear (*śakti*) in his right hand. Peacock may also be seen by the side of the deity on some coins.[129] The six heads of Kārttikeya are mentioned in the *Viṣṇudharamottara*.[130] On the Yaudheya coins, he is generally hexacephalous, as already seen, and rarely single-headed.[131] This practice of depicting Kārttikeya sometimes as six-headed, and at others as single-headed, has the sanction of certain ancient texts, which state that he can either be hexacephalous, or

monocephalous.[132] A.C. Banerjea identifies the bird depicted with Kārttikeya on Yaudheya coins as a peacock.[133] A cock and bull are also associated with Kārttikeya in the *Viṣṇudharmottara*.[134] Of these, the bull can be seen on the reverse of a Yaudheya coin with Kārttikeya on the obverse.[135] On certain Yaudheya coins, Kārttikeya is shown standing on a lotus.[136] S.S. Singh is of the view that this depiction was to "remind people of Skanda-Kārttikeya's definite solar basis for lotus is already known to be a very important attribute of the Sun-god."[137] The *śakti* of Kārttikeya is also reported to have been fashioned from a portion of the Sun-god's glory.[138] It is also believed that the association of the cock, the harbinger of the rising sun, with Kārttikeya probably denotes the solar connection of the deity.[139]

It is interesting to note that when hexacephalous, the six heads of Kārttikeya are arranged in two distinct styles on the Yaudheya coins. On most of the coins, the six heads are arranged in two rows of three heads each.[140] But on certain coins,[141] one head is shown in the centre, with the remaining five heads arranged around this central head.

The Yaudheyas are mentioned in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini as *āyudhajīvī saṅgha*,[142] i.e., "a people living by profession of arms." Depicting Kārttikeya, the war-god, on their coins "was definitely the best tribute to Skanda-Kārttikeya the Yaudheyas could have paid to the god."[143]

The identification of the goddess on the reverse of certain Yaudheya coins is a much debated subject of ancient Indian numismatics. Allan described her as Lakṣmī,[144] and this identification has been followed by J.N. Banerjea,[144a] and Kala.[145]

V.S. Agrawala, however, is inclined to identify this female deity with Ṣaṣṭhī (or Devasenā) on the basis of the *Bālagrahachikitsā*

chapter of the *Kāśyapa Saṁhitā*.[146] This Ṣaṣṭhi or Devasenā is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as the consort of Skanda-Kārttikeya.[147] That Ṣaṣṭhi is identical with Devasenā is pointed out by the epithets *Ṣaṣṭhīpriyaḥ*[148] and *Devasenāpriyaḥ*[149] *of* Kārttikeya.[150] But V.S. Agrawala, at that stage, was unable to cite any textual authority for this identification. It was only later that he found a reference to six-headed Ṣaṣṭhī in the *Kāśyapa Saṁhitā*.[151] One scholar has suggested that the six-headed female should be identified with Kṛittikā, a combined form of six Kṛittikās, the mothers of Skanda-Kārttikeya.[152] But this identification is not convincing.[153] As R.C. Agrawala points out, "nowhere we find any reference to one Kṛittikā alone and that too with all the six heads together meant for Skanda Kumāra."[154]

A six-headed goddess, illustrative of the concept of six-headed Ṣaṣṭhi or Devasenā, is represented in a few sculptures as well.[155] Thus, we have both literary and iconographic evidence of a six-headed Ṣaṣṭhi-Devasenā. The identification of the six-headed female on the Yaudheya coins with Ṣaṣṭhī-Devasenā has now been accepted by most of the scholars,[156] the six heads of the goddess being justified by the similar number of heads of her consort, Kārttikeya.[157]

The posture of Ṣaṣṭhī-Devasenā on these coins is similar to that of Mao, Mithra, and Helios on the Kuṣāṇa coins.[158]

The appearance of Śiva on the reverse of a Yaudheya coin depicting Kārttikeya on the obverse[159] is, indeed, interesting. Kārttikeya is connected with Śiva by the Liṅgāyat tradition.[160] The former seems to have been conceived earlier as the son of Agni. According to *Rāmāyaṇa*,[161] he was the son of Agni from Gaṅgā. R.G. Bhandarkar says, "the foetus was thrown by Gaṅgā on the Himāvat mountain and it was nourished by the six stars constituting

the constellation of Kṛttikās and was called the son of Kṛttikā."[162] The *Mahābhārata*, at one place,[163] describes him as the son of Agni from Śvāhā, his consort. When he is addressed as *Rudraputra* by the gods, Rudra seems to have been intended for Agni, for it is an epithet of that god also.[164] The parentage of Kārttikeya seems to have been transferred from Agni to Śiva, most probably due to the fact that Rudra is also an epithet of Śiva.[165] At one place in the *Mahābhārata*,[166] Kārttikeya is described as the son of Śiva and Pārvatī, who had assumed the form of Agni and Śvāhā. The *Purāṇas*[166a] also connect Śiva with Kārttikeya. As such, the appearance of Śiva in connection with Kārttikeya on Yaudheya coins need not occasion any surprise.

Cunningham read the obverse legend on the silver coin of Class I as *Bhāgavata Svāmina Brāhmaṇa Yaudheya.*[167] Allan amended the legend as *Bhāgavata-svāmino-Brahmaṇya*[-] *Yaudheya*, and remarked, "A space between *ṇya* and *Yau* suggests we should supply *sa* from the copper coins."[168] His full reading then becomes *Yaudheya-bhāgavata-svāmino Brahmaṇya(sa or sya)*, which he renders as 'Of Brahmaṇya (a name of Kārttikeya), the divine lord of Yaudheyas.'[169] The full legend on the copper coins he reconstructs from a study of a number of these coins as *Bhāgavata-svāmino Brahmaṇya-devasya (or sa) Kumārasya (or sa)*, 'Of Kumāra, the divine lord Brahmaṇyadeva.'[170] J.N. Banerjea reads *Bhagavata(ḥ or o)* in place of *Bhāgavata* in these coin legends. He says that Bhāgavata means not 'divine', but 'a devotee of the Bhagavata or the worshipful one', which "would militate against the general character of the coins."[171] He reads the legend on the unique silver coins as *Bhagavata(ḥ or o) svāmino Brahmaṇya (sa or sya) Yaudheya(sa or sya)*, interprets it as 'Of (or "coin of") the worshipful lord Brahmaṇyadeva Yaudheya',[172] and

says that Kārttikeya is here presented as "the Yaudheya par excellence."[173] He reads the legend on the copper coins as *Bhagavata(ḥ or o) svāmino Brahmaṇya devasya(or sa) Kumārasya (or sa)*, meaning 'Of (really "coin of") the worshipful lord Brahmaṇyadeva Kumāra.'[174]

Banerjea's readings of the legends on these Yaudheya coins have been accepted by most of the subsequent scholars.[175]

On the basis of his interpretation of the coin-legends, J.N. Banerjea suggests that the Yaudheyas dedicated their state to their spiritual lord, Kārttikeya, who henceforth, became their temporal lord as well.[176] This change, he suggests, appears to have come sometime after the defeat of the Yaudheyas at the hands of the Kārddamaka Śaka Kṣatrapa, Rudradāman I.[177] Banerjea is of the opinion that these coins were issued in the name of Kārttikeya, the spiritual as well as the temporal lord of the Yaudheyas,[178] and not in the name of a Yaudheya ruler named Brahmaṇya(deva), as suggested by some scholars like Rapson[179] and Smith.[180] Banerjea cites examples of the existence of this form of theocracy in the earlier and subsequent periods of Indian history. The seal-legend *Śrī Vindhyabhedana-mahārājasya Maheśvara - Mahāsenāti-sriṣṭarājyasya Vṛiṣadhvajasya Gautamīputrasya*, on a third or fourth century A.D. Bhita sealing has been interpreted by Marshall as "Of the illustrious Mahārāja Gautamīputra Vṛiṣadhvaja, the penetrator of the Vindhyas, who had made over his kingdom to the great Lord Kārttikeya."[181] Marshall says that the seal "seems to indicate that in ancient times there may have existed a pious custom, according to which rulers on the occasion of their accession entrusted their kingdom to their ishṭadevatā and considered themselves as mere agents."[182] The Chatreśvara type of Kuṇinda

coins also show that the Kuṇinda states was once dedicated to Chatreśvara Śiva, and coins were issued in his name.[183] This type of theocracy may also be seen in the case of the Śiśodiyā Rāṇās of Udayapura,[184] the State of Travancore,[185] and Cochin,[186] where the rulers administered in the name of god Padmanābha; the later Eastern Gaṅgas of Orissa who dedicated their state to Puruṣottama-Jagannātha;[187] and the Guhilas of Mewar who ruled in the name of Ekaliṅga.[188]

The suggestion of J.N. Banerjea, that the Yaudheyas, after their defeat at the hands of Rudradāman I, dedicated their state to Kārttikeya and issued their coins in his name, has been accepted and followed by almost all the subsequent scholars.[189]

Jai Prakash, however, finds J.N. Banerjea's suggestion as "not convincing", mainly because on these Yaudheya coins, Kārttikeya is not given "the popular regal epithets of the time."[190] He says that the coin-legends no doubt describe Brahmaṇya-Kumāra (Kārttikeya) as *Svāmī*, but as the Western Śaka Kṣatrapas, who pupularised this title, never used it without the royal epithet *raña*, this *svāmī* "should not be taken to mean the independent status of Kārttikeya."[191] Jai Prakash is of the view that as these coins refer to Kārttikeya as *svāmī*, the title probably borrowed from the Western Śaka Kṣatrapas, these coins were issued to commemorate the independence of the Yaudheyas from these Western Śaka Kṣatrapas. They were issued in the name of Kārttikeya, their tutelary deity, because the Yaudheyas might have ascribed their independence to the special favour of the war-god.[192] Thus he takes these coins as commemorative medallions. But these pieces also served as regular money, for these coins have been found in large numbers.[193]

Incidentally, these coins show a marked Kuṣāṇa influence.[194]

The figure of the six-headed goddess on the reverse is influenced by the figures of Mithra, Mao, and Helios on the Kuṣāṇa coins.[195] As stated earlier, the title of *svāmī*, given to Kārttikeya on these coins, was pupularised by the Western Śaka Kṣatrapas.[196] As such, these coins have to be placed after the title had been introduced by the Kuṣāṇas and Western Śaka Kṣatrapas. Allan places these coins later than second century A.D.[197] D.C. Sircar assigns them to the second or third century A.D.[198] We find this date for these coins as quite possible. We have accepted that these pieces were struck after the Yaudheyas had asserted their independence from Western Śaka Ksatrapa rule. They had been subjugated by Rudradāman I,[199] who flourished at least upto A.D. 150, the date of his Junagarh Rock Inscription,[200]and could have asserted their independence sometime after the close of the reign of Rudradāman I.

References

1. *CAI*, p. 70.
2. *BMC,AI*, p. ciii. K.K. Dasgupta (*THAI*, p. 90), however, believes that the area occupied by the Kuṇindas "seems to have been larger as their coins have also been found in the Garhwal districts in U.P."
3. *CAI*, p. 71.
4. *THAI*, p. 88.
5. *BMC*,AI, p. ci. This division of the Kuṇinda coins into two main groups is supported by S.K. Chakrabortty, *SAIN*, pp. 186-188, and D.C. Sircar, *AIU*, p. 161, fn. 1. Cf. also Jai Prakash, *JNSI*, Vol. XXVII, Pt. II, p. 126, and P. Prakash, *ibid.*, Vol. XXXVIII, Pt. I, p. 110.
7. *BMC,AI*, p. ciii.
8. *Indian Coins*, p. 12.
9. *SAIN*, p. 187. Altekar, *VGA*, p. 198, also places these coins in c. 200 A.D.

10. *BMC,AI*, p. ci; *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 161; *THAI*, p. 104, *VGA*, p. 298; *SAIN*, p. 187.

11. *AIU*, p. 161, fn. 1.

12. *Ibid.*

13. *THAI*, pp. 90-91; also Jai Prakash, *JNSI*, Vol. XXVII, Pt. II, p. 127.

14. *THAI*, pp. 93-94.

15. Rapson identifies the skin as that of an antilope (*Indian Coins*, p. 12). Cunningham takes it to be that of a leopard (*CAI*, p. 72). S.K. Chakrabortty says that as leopard skin is associated with Śiva, Cunningham's suggestion seems to be correct (*SAIN*, p. 188).

16. *CAI*, p. 72, Pl. V, 4; *BMC,AI*, p. 167, Pl. XXIII, 12; *THAI*, p. 93, Pl. III, 52; *SAIN*, p. 188; *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 170.

17. *BMC,AI*, p. 168, Pl. XXIII, 11; *THAI*, p. 94, Pl. III, 53.

18 *BMC,AI*, p. 168, Pl. XLIII, 14, *THAI*, p. 94, Pl. III, 54.

19 *BMC,AI*, p. 167, Pl. XLIII, 13; *THAI*, p. 94, Pl. III, 55.

20. *BMC,AI*, p. 168, Pl. XLIII, 12, *THAI*, p. 94, Pl. III, 56.

21. *BMC,AI*, p. 168, *THAI*, p. 94.

22. *BMC,AI*, p. 168, Pl. XXIII, 15; *THAI*, p. 94, Pl. III, 57.

23. *BMC,AI*, p. 167.

24. *CAI*, p. 72.

25. *BMC,AI*, p. 167.

26. *Ibid.*, p. ciii. This is also S.K. Chakrabortty's reading, *SAIN*, p. 188.

27. *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 170.

28. *SAIN*, p. 188.

29. *K.K.* Dasgupta, *THAI*, p. 94

30. *AIU*, p. 161, fn. 1.

31. *JNSI*, Vol. XXVIII, Pt. II, p. 127.

32. *THAI*, p. 93; cf. Bhaskar Chattopadhyay, *Coins and Icons*, p. 262.

33. *Bhartiya Vidya*, Vol. XXII, p. 49.

34. *THAI*, p. 98.

35. *JASB*, Vol. LV, p., 165. Later, he identified it with deer. See *THAI*, p. 100, fn. 50.

36. *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 415; cf. *SAIN*, p. 188, and *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 170.

37. *CAI*, p. 72.

38. *BMC,AI*, p. 167.

39. *VGA*, p. 298.

40. *THAI*, p. 93.

41. *JNSI*, Vol. XXXVIII, Pt. I, p. 110.

42. *Coins and Icons*, p. 261.

43. *ECNI,IS*, p. 55.

44. *DHI*, p. 134; *JNSI*, Vol. XXII, p. 45.

45. *THAI*, p. 101. Cf. Deena Bandhu Pandey, *JNSI*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 20 ff.

45a. Verse 32.

46. *THAI*, p. 100, fn. 51.

47. *JNSI*, Vol. XXXVIII, Pt.I, p. 112.

48. *CAI*, p. 71.

49. *Indian Art.*, p. 42.

50. *JUPHS*, Vol. IV, 1930, p. 11, pp. 7-14.

51. *JNSI*, Vol. XXXVIII, Pt. I, p. 112.

52. *Ibid.*

53.. Marshall, *MIC*, Vol. I, pp. 52-56, Pl. XII, 12.

54. *ECNI,IS*, p. 55.

55. Cf. Bhaskar Chattopadhyay, *Coins and Icons*, p. 262. But Deena Bandhu Pandey identifies the female figure on the Amoghabhūti coins as Pārvatī, who, in the form of Ekānaṁśā, has a lotus associated with her, as told in the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* and the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*. See *JNSI*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 24.

56. *JASB*, Vol LV, p. 166.

57. *BMC,AI*, p. ci. Cf. Deena Bandhu Pandey, *JNSI*, Vol XXXVII, p. 23.

58. *CAI*, p. 72.

59. *JNSI*, Vol. XXII, p. 45.
60. *THAI*, p. 101. Cf. A.L. Shrivastava, *JNSI*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 38-39.
61. Indian Architectural Terms, *JAOS*, Vol. XLVIII, 3, p. 270.
62 *BMC, AWK*, Pl . VIII, 207.
63. Terracotta Figurines of Ahichchhatra, *Ancient India*, No . 4, p.114.
64. *Coins and Icons*, p. 261.
65. E.g., Smith , *IMC*, Vol I, p. 167; S.K. Chakrabortty, *SAIN*, p. 188.
66. *DHI*, p. 46.
67. *XLII* , 9-10 .
68. *THAI* , P. 102.
69. *ECNI,IS*, p. 55.
70. Cf. Theobald, who described it as "a solitary serpent". *JASB*, Vol. LV, p. 167.
71. *SAIN*, p. 188.
72. *DHI*, p. 45. This is supported by Bhaskar Chattopadhyay, *Coins and Icons*, p. 262.
73. *VGA*, p. 31.
74. *AIU*, p. 161, fn. 1.
75. *SAIN*, p. 188.
76. *DHI*, p. 118, fn. 1; *Comp. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 797-98, fn. 7.
77. *THAI*, p. 99, and fn. 45.
78. M.N. Srinivas (ed.), *India's Villages* (Reprint, 1963), p.80.
78a. *JNSI*, Vol. XXVII, Pt. II, p. 127.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 128.
80. *Ibid.*
81. See *THAI*, pp. 105-106.
82. *VGA*, pp. 31-32.
83. *Ibid.* p.31
84. *Bharatiya Vidya*, Vol. XXII, p.50.
85. *THAI*, p. 106.

86. *Ibid.*, p.107.

87. V.3.117; also, IV. 1.178.

88. Birbal Sahni, *Technique of Casting Coins in Ancient India*, pp. 1-32.

89. *THAI*, p. 200, Cf. *Mahābhārata*, II. 29. 4-5a (BORI edition), connecting Kārttikeya, the tutelary deity of the Yaudheyas with the Rohītaka (= Rohtak) territory.

90. See, e.g., the classification of Allan, *BMC,AI*, pp. cxlvii-cli; of K.D. Bajpai, *JNSI*, Vol XXXV, pp. 90 ff.; of K.K. Dasgupta, *THAI*, pp. 201-211; of S.K. Chakrabortty, *SAIN*, pp. 220-221.

91. See *infra*.

92. For the identification of this deity, see *infra*.

93. See *BMC,AI*, Pl. XL, 13.

94. *CAI*, p. 78, Pl. VI, 9; *BMC,AI*, pp. 270, Pl. XXXIX, 21.

95. *CAI*, p. 78, Pl. VI, 10, 12; *BMC,AI*, pp. 270-271, Pl. XXXIX, 20; Pl. XL, 11; *THAI*, p. 203, Pl. VI, 113a, Pl. VII, 113b-c. Nisar Ahmed attributes these coins with this legend to the Kumāra tribe. See *Tribal Coins of Ancient India* (ed. by J.P. Singh and Nisar Ahmed), pp. 154 ff. But as these coins are very similar to the silver coin of Class I, which is definitely a Yaudheya issue as it bears the name of the tribe on the obverse, we feel that the attribution of these copper coins to the Yaudheya tribe in more acceptable.

96. *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 182, Pl. XXI, 17; *JNSI*, Vol. II, p. 111, Pl. X, 16.

97. *BMC,AI*, p. 272. XXXIX, 22.

98. *CAI*, p. 78, Pl. VI, 11; Cunningham takes the Kārttikeya side as the obverse. Also,*BMC,AI*, p. 272, Pl. XL.10.

99. *JNSI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 48, Pl. VI, 3.

100. *Ibid.*, p. 48, Pl. VI, 8.

101. *Ibid.*, p. 48, Pl. VI, 2. Cf. Dasgupta, *THAI*, p. 204, who takes the obverse as reverse, and vice versa.

102. Dasgupta, *THAI*, p. 205, takes the goddess as single-headed, with head radiate. But to us, it appears that she might be multiheaded with one head in the centre, and the remaining arranged around this central

heads.

103. *JNSI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 48, no. 6.

104. *JNSI*, Vol. II, p. 111, Pl. X, 12.

105. *CAI*, p. 78, Pl. VI, 13, BMC,AI, p. 273, nos. 63-67.

106 Smith regards this as a crescent, *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 182.

107. *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 182, no. 19; *JNSI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 45 ff., Pl. III,25; *THAI*,p. 205, Pl. VII, 120.

108. Smith described it as a shrine with curved roof (*IMC*, Vol. I, p. 182). But P. Banerjee (*JNSI*, Vol. XIV, p. 45) regards it as a vase with plant. Cf. Dasgupta, *THAI*, p. 206.

109. P. Banerjee regards the plant as a flower plant. See *JNSI*, Vol. XIV, p. 45.

110. *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 182, no. 20; *JNSI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 45 ff., Pl. III, 26.

111. *BMC,AI*, p. 273, no. 68.

112. *Ibid.*, p. 274, nos. 69-72.

113. *Ibid.*, p. 274, nos. 73-76

114. *BMC,AI*, p. 275, Pl. XL, 12; *JNSI*, Vol. II, p. 112, nos. 95-96. Cf. some coins in Roma Niyogi's Collection depicting deer before temple on the reverse. *JNSI*, Vol. XLV, pp. 21-22, Pl. III, 8-10.

115. *BMC,AI*, p. cl.

116. Cunningham, *CAI*, p. 78; cf. Dasgupta, *THAI*, p. 217; D.C. Sircar, *AIU*, p. 167; *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 429; *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 431.

117. *SAIN*, p. 223.

118. *JNSI*, Vol. XVII, Pt. II, p. 65.

119. Cf. the word Yavana, which originally meant the Ionian Greeks, but later came to indicate any foreigner.

120. *JNSI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 47; *THAI*, p. 207.

121. *JNSI*, Vol. II, p. 112, Pl. X, 74.

122. *Ibid.*, p. 111, Pl. X, 63.

123. *Ibid.*, p. 112, Pl. X, 64.

124. *Ibid.*, p. 112, no. 104.

125. *JNSI*, Vol. II, p. 112, no. 85.

126. Allan gives the symbol as six-arched (*BMC,AI*, p. 275). But the symbol on the coin is three-arched, as pointed out by K.K. Dasgupta (*THAI*, p. 272).

127. *BMC,AI*, p. 275, Pl. XL, 13.

128. E.g., the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, Ch. 57, verse 41.

129. See *supra*, Class II, Variety f.

130. Ch. 71, vv. 3-6.

131. See, e.g., *supra*, Class IV, Variety b.

132. E.g., the *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra*. See D.N. Shukla, *Hindu Canons of Iconography*, pp. 296-297.

133. *JBORS*, Vol. XX, p. 178.

134. Ch. 71, vv. 3-6.

135. See *supra*, Class IV, Variety j.

136. See, e.g., *supra*, Class II, Variety b .

137. *ECNI,IS*, pp. 46-47.

138. T.A.G. Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, p. 431.

139. B. Sahai, *Iconography of Some Minor Hindu and Buddhist Deities*, p. 102.

140. E.g., *BMC,AI*, Pl. XXXIX, 21. Cf. a mediaeval stone figure from Avantipur. See Excavations at Avantipur, *ASIAR*, 1913-14, Pl. 28, F, p. 53. See R.C. Agrawala, *JNSI*, Vol. XXIX, Pt. I, p. 41.

141. E.g., *JNSI*, Vol. XXVIII, Pt. II, p. 201. Compare this arrangement of heads on coins with a post-Gupta bronze (National Museum, New Delhi, No. 66.48) image of Kārttikeya from Chamba, showing one head in the centre with the remaining five heads along the border line of the halo behind. See *ibid.*, p. 202.

142. V.3. 117; IV, 1. 178.

143. S.S. Singh, *ECNI,IS*, p. 42

144. *BMC,AI*, p. cli.

144a. *DHI*, p. 143.

145. *JNSI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 47.

146. *JNSI*, Vol. V, p. 30.

147. *Vanaparva*, 228.49,50.

148. *Mahābhārata, Vanaparva*, 232.6.

149. *Ibid.*, 232, 8.

150. See V.S. Agrawala, *JNSI*, Vol. V, p. 30.

151. This reference is cited in *Prāchīna Bhārtīya Lokadharma*; p. 64, and *Ancient Indian Folk Cults*, pp. 93 ff.

152. Deena Bandhu Pandey, *JNSI*, Vol. XXIX, Pt. I, pp. 5 ff.

153. Cf. Dasgupta, *THAI*, p. 221.

154. *JNSI*, Vol. XXX, p. 182. Cf. Dasgupta, *THAI*, p. 221, R.C.Agrawala also identifies with Ṣaṣṭhī-Devasenā, the deity on these coins.

155. *East and West*, Vol. XXI, nos. 3-4, 1971, pp. 325. ff.. figures 1-4.

156. See, e.g., K.K. Dasgupta, *THAI*, pp. 221-222; S.S. Singh, *ECNI,IS*, p. 48; D.C. Sircar, *AIU*, p. 167.

157. *ECNI,IS*, p. 47.

158. Cf. *PMC*, Vol. I, Pl. XVII, 147 ; *BMC, GSKBI*, Pl. XVII, 3,4,10. See Dasgupta, *THAI*, p. 222.

159. *JNSI*, Vol. II, p. 111, Pl. X, 12.

160. Bhaskar Chattopadhyay, *Coins and Icons*, p. 223.

161. I. 37.

162. *Vaishṇavism, Śaivism, and Minor Religious Systems*, p. 150.

163. *Vanaparva*, Ch. 229, vv. 15-19.

164. Yaduvamsi, *Śaiva-mata*, p. 76.

165. S.S. Singh, *ECNI, IS*, p. 43.

166. *Vanaparva*, Ch. 188.

166a. *Varāha Purāṇa*, 25, 52; *Matsya Pūraṇa*, 158, 26 ff.; *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 72, 20 ff.; *Brahma Purāṇa*, Ch. 128; *Saura Purāṇa*, 60-62; *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*, III, Chs. 1, 2; *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, Pt. II, Ch. 40.

167. *CAI*, p. 78.

168. *BMC,AI*, p. cxlix.

169. *BMC,AI*, p. cxlix.

170. *Ibid.*, p. cl. The credit for reading the name of Brahmaṇyadeva must, however, go to Rapson, *JRAS*, 1903, p. 291.

171. *JNSI*, Vol. XIII, Pt. II, p. 162.

172. *Ibid.*, p. 161.

173. *Ibid.*, p. 162.

174. *Ibid.*, p. 161.

175. E.g., D.C. Sircar, *AIU*, p. 167; also *Studies in Indian Coins*, p. 213; K.K. Dasgupta, *THAI*, pp. 214 ff.

176. *JNSI*, Vol. XIII, Pt. II, p. 162; also *DHI*, p. 142; *Comp. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 797-798, fn. 7.

177. *JNSI*, Vol. XIII, Pt. II, p. 162.

178. *Ibid.* Cf. D.C. Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, p. 213, who says that the silver coins were issued in the name of both the Yaudheya tribe and Kärttikeya, while the copper pieces were issued in the name of the deity alone.

179. *JRAS*, 1903, p. 291.

180. *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 165.

181. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 51. Cf. Mirashi, who interprets it as "(one) who has been bestowed a kingdom by Maheśvara-Mahāsena". *IHQ*, Vol. XXVI, p. 145. But J.N. Banerjea supports Marshall's interpretation. *JNSI*, Vol. XIII, Pt. II, p. 163, fn. 1. See also *ibid.*, fn. 2.

182. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 51.

183. See *supra*.

184. J.N. Banerjea, *JNSI*, Vol. XIII, Pt. II, p. 163.

185. *Ibid.*

186. K.K. Dasgupta, *THAI*, p. 99 fn. 45.

187. *Ibid.*

188. *Ibid.*

189. E.g., K.K. Dasgupta, *THAI*, pp. 216-217, 220; D.C. Sircar, *AIU*, p. 167; also *Studies in Indian Coins*, p. 213; S.S. Singh, *ECNI,IS* p. 46.

Cf. S. Chattopadhyaya, *Early History of North India*, p. 121, who says that "the Yaudheyas before they went into war against the Kuṣāṇas, dedicated their state to the war lord Kārttikeya and fought in his name."

190. *JNSI*, Vol. XXVII, Pt. II, p. 134.

191. *Ibid.*

192. *Ibid.*

193. *JNSI*, Vol. XXVII, Pt. II, p. 134.

194. Bhaskar Chattopadhyay, *Coins and Icons*, p. 224.

195. Bela Lahiri, "Foreign Elements in Local and Tribal Coins", in *MNSI*, No. 8, p. 141.

196. Jai Prakash, *JNSI*, Vol. XXVII, Pt. II, p. 134. Cf. J.P. Singh, "Foreign Elements in Early Indigenous Coins" in *MNSI*, No. 8 (Foreign Elements in Indian Indigenous Coins), p. 128. Acharya Bhagwan Deo (*JNSI*, Vol. XXXII, Pt. II, pp. 154 ff.) refers to a seal in which the title of Mahākṣatrapa is used for a Yaudheya chief.

197. *BMC,AI*, p. cliii.

198. *AIU*, p. 167. Cf. Dasgupta, *THAI*, p. 212.

199. See his Junagarh Rock Inscription, lines 11-12. S.R. Goyal, *Prāchīna Bhāratīya Abhilekha Saṅgraha*, Vol. I. p. 324.

200. D.C. Sircar, SI, Vol. I, p. 175. But cf. S.R. Goyal, *Prāchīna Bhāratīya Abhilekha Saṅgraha*, Vol. I. p. 322, who regards A.D. 155 as the date of the record.

9

COMMEMORATIVE MEDALLIONS OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTAS

The Gupta emperor, Samudragupta, is known to have issued at least two (probably three)[1] types of commemorative medallions. These are the Aśvamedha type and the Lyrist type. As regards the view of scholars like Allan,[2] R.D. Banerji,[3] and others, that the Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type of coins are also commemorative medals struck by Samudragupta in memory of his parents, we have already seen that this view does not appear to be acceptable,[4] and Altekar's view[5] that these coins are joint issues struck by Chandragupta I and Kumāradevī seems to be more appropriate.

AŚVAMEDHA TYPE OF SAMUDRAGUPTA

Samudragupta is known from his *Prayāga Praśasti*[6] to have made extensive conquests in North and South India. He seems to have celebrated these conquests by the performance of the *Aśvamedha*, the Horse-sacrifice,[7] thereby proclaiming his position of paramount power in India. The Aśvamedha type of coins appear to have been issued to commemorate this memorable event, and in all probability, to be distributed to the officiating priests and the learned Brāhmaṇas who graced the event by their presence.[8]

Samudragupta himself has left no epigraphic record of his performance of the *Aśvamedha*, unless any reference to this event

was contained in the damaged portions of the *Prayāga Praśasti.*[9] However, his successors refer to him as *Chirotsannāśvamedhāharttuḥ,*[10] "one who had revived the *Aśvamedha*, which had been long in abeyance." This statement may not be totally accurate, for it is known that the *Aśvamedha* was performed by Indian kings not long before the reign of Samudragupta.[11] These kings are Pārāśarīputra Sarvatāta, Śātakarṇi the husband of Nāganikā, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Ikṣvāku Śrī-Chāṁtamūla, Devavarman Śālaṅkāyana, Vākāṭaka Pravarasena I, Pallava Śiva-Skandavarman, and some kings of the Bhāraśiva-Nāga family.[12]

However, there can be no doubt that the performance of the *Aśvamedha* by Samudragupta marked the revival of the old glory and influence of the Brahmanical religion.[13]

Bhandarkar, basing his evidence on Sāyaṇa's commentary, interprets the word *chirotsannāśvamedhāharttuḥ* as one who performed a horse-sacrifice with all the elements, some of which had been taken as lost or forgotten for a long time.[14]

The view that the Aśvamedha type of coins were distributed by *dakṣiṇā* to the officiating priests and other Brāhmaṇas seems to have been inspired by, or at least seems to be corroborated with, the use of the epithet *Nyāyāgatānekago-hiraṇyakoṭiprada*[15] for Samudragupta by his successors in their inscriptions.[16] Similarly, the word *Suvarṇadāna*, "distribution of gold", occurring in the Eran Inscription of Samudragupta[17] might also refer to the distribution of these gold coins of the Aśvamedha type on this occasion by the emperor.[18]

Bhandarkar, however, says that it is "unlikely"[19] that Samudragupta struck the Aśvamedha type of coins for distribution among the officiating priests, for this type of coins, "though so few of them have yet been found, seem to present three or four different varieties, showing that they were struck in different mints. On the

other hand, if they had really been intended as largesses to the Brāhmaṇa priests who participated in the solemn rite, they would have come from one and the same mint, and presenting one variety only".[20]

The Aśvamedha type of Samudragupta, in all probability, would have been issued towards the latter part of his reign, as it would appear that the *Aśvamedha* was performed by the emperor after the completion of his conquests. It is true that the horse-sacrifice might as well be performed before setting out on a *digvijaya*;[21] it is more usually performed in celebration of the attainment of paramount power after a series of conquests,[22] for, *the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* says, "Verily the Aśvamedha means royal sway; it is after royal sway that they strive who guard the horse .... Whereupon let him who holds royal sway perform the horse-sacrifice for verily whosoever performs the horse-sacrifice without possessing royal sway is swept away."[23] The *Aśvamedha* "involved an assertion of power and a display of political authority such as only a monarch of undisputed supremacy could have ventured upon without courting humiliation."[24]

R.C. Majumdar says, "it may justly be doubted whether he scrupulously followed the prescribed method of letting loose the sacrificial horse and these extensive conquests were undertaken merely as the necessary prelude to the great ceremony .... The probability rather is that the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice was thought of towards the close of his reign as a fitting symbol to signalise the wonderful results achieved by arduous military campaigns of a long life."[25]

As such, Samudragupta appears to have performed the *Aśvamedha* quite late in his reign, after the completion of his conquests in North and South India,[26] and therefore, the Aśvamedha

type of coins, which were struck to commemorate the performance of the *Aśvamedha*,[27] would appear to have been issued towards the end of his reign.[28]

We now proceed to give a full description of the Aśvamedha type of Samudragupta.

Obv. : Uncaparisoned horse, sometimes with a strap on the neck,[29] to l.; before *yūpa* (sacrificial post), from which penon flies over the horse's back; mane of horse plaited in some cases;[30] sometimes a string of beads[30a] and a crescent above the horse's back;[31] Brāhmī letter *Si* beneath the horse; very rarely, a low pedestal below the horse.[32] Circular Brāhmī legend, starting at V,[33] VIII,[34] IX,[35] XI,[36] or XII[37] on different coins : *Rājādhirājaḥ prithivīmavitvā*[38] *(or vijitya*[39]*) divaṁ jayatyāhritavājimedhaḥ.*

Rev. : The crowned queen[40] (most probably Dattadevī), standing to l., on a pearl-bordered circular mat;[41] she is dressed in a *sārī* and *cholī*; wears ornaments like earrings, necklace, armlets, and anklets; holds a *chāmara* in her r. hand, which rests on her r. shoulder; a towel in her l. hand, hanging by her side; in front of queen, an ornamental *sūchī* bound with fillet; on some specimens,[42] gourd (?) at her feet; Brāhmī legend : *Aśvamedhaparākramaḥ.*[43]

Gold. Round. (Pl. XI, 6, 7).

The uncaparisoned horse sometimes has beads plaited into its mane.[44] The sacred scriptures lay down that a hundred golden beads should be strung in the mane and the tail of the horse[45] Beads strung in the tail are, however, not shown on the coins of this type. The string of beads visible above the back of the horse on some

specimens[46] appears to be just a decorative motif.[47]

Rapson was perhaps the first scholar to identify the bent pole on the obverse of this type as the sacrificial post (*yūpa*).[48] The base of this *yūpa*, to which the horse is tied,[49] is partly within, and party outside the *vedī* or altar on which the horse is standing. This is in accordance with the sacred texts which state that if the *yūpa* is entirely within the altar, the sacrificer will win only the heaven; if it is totally outside the altar, he will win only the earth; but if it is partly within and partly outside the altar, he will win both the worlds.[50] The perpendicular line connecting the *yūpa* with the *vedī* on some coins,[51] too, appears to be merely decorative.[52]

The penons flying from the top of the *yūpa* on these coins are also for the sake of decoration only; the sacred texts do not direct it to be so. But in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, too, there is a reference to pieces of cloth adorning the twenty-one *yūpas* erected during the horse-sacrifice performed by Daśaratha.[53] The *yūpa* is bent in the middle and at the top, as enjoined by the Vedic texts.[54] It is also provided in the middle with a girdle or *raśanā*, with its two ends hanging down.[55] The *chaṣāla*, a wooden ring, narrow at the centre,[56] is denoted by two dots near the upper end of the *yūpa*[57].

Below the horse, on each coin, there is a Brāhmī letter *Si*, which appears to be the contracted form of the word *Siddhaṁ*.[58]

Very rarely, a low pedestal is found above the *vedī*,[59] and below the letter *Si*. According to Allan, this might be a brick of the altar, or a slab of gold serving as the seat for the *hotṛi*.[60] But Altekar argues that if this is the seat for the *hotṛi*, why is it placed below the horse?[61] He refers to the nature of this pedestal as a "mystery".[62]

Allan read the obverse legend as *Rājādhirājaḥ prithivīmavitvā divaṁ jayatyaprativāryavīryaḥ*.[63] It was Venis who corrected the

end of this legend, and restored it as *Rājādhirājaḥ pṛithivīmavitvā divaṁ jayatyāhṛitavājimedhaḥ.*[64]

Allan has also referred to a second variety of the obverse legend found on a coin of Hoey, and on another in the Bodleian Collection. Here, the legend reads *pṛithīvīṁ vijitya* instead of *pṛithivīmavitvā.*[65] Altekar has found this same variety of the obverse legend on a coin in the Bayana hoard.[66] It might also be pointed out that Smith, too, read *pṛithivīṁ vijitya* on a coin in the Indian Museum Collection.[67]Thus, the second variety of the obverse legend on the Aśvamedha type of Samudragupta reads *Rājādhirājaḥ pṛithivīṁ vijitya divaṁ jayatyāhṛitavājimedhaḥ*[68].

The female figure on the reverse of this coin-type is perhaps that of Dattadevī, the chief-queen of Samudragupta as stated earlier, for the chief-queen of the performer of the sacrifice was required to perform certain functions at the *Aśvamedha.*[69] She is shown on the coins as holding a *chāmara* in her right hand, and a piece of cloth or towel in her left hand. The sacred scriptures[70] enjoin that the queen should fan and wash the sacrificial horse.[71] Hence the *chāmara* and towel in her hands[72] On a coin in the British Museum Collection[73] Allan thinks that there is a gourd near the feet of the queen.[74] As Altekar has pointed out, this object is very indistinct on the plate, but "if it was really a gourd, it would obviously refer to the queen's duty to wash the horse."[75]

Altekar has also pointed out that though the queen was required to wash the horse, on no coin is she shown actually carrying a pitcher, which was probably because the actual pouring of water was done by the servants, while the queen washed the animal, and rubbed its body with a towel [76]

Regarding the pointed object before the queen on the reverse, Smith had earlier suggested that it was a spear.[77] Later, he changed

his opinion, and identified the object as a staff or standard.[78] Allan, however, says that as this object appears on this coin-type, "it must be closely connected with the sacrifice, and we would, therefore, suggest that it is a sacrificial or ceremonial spear."[79] But Altekar says that a spear was not required in the *Aśvamedha*. He identifies this pointed object as a *sūchī*, or needle, with which the three queens were required to puncture the body of the horse after it had been killed, so as to facilitate the passage of the sword into its body - the crowned queen using a golden *sūchī*, the favourite queen, a silver *sūchī*, and the discarded queen, a copper needle.[80] Altekar's identification seems to be the most appropriate.On the basis of the reverse legend, *Aśvamedhaparākramaḥ* on this coin-type, Rapson suggests that *Parākramāditya* might have been the *āditya* title of Samudragupta, thus comparing the forms *Vikrama* and *Vikramāditya*, as used by Chandragupta II.[81]

Rapson has published a seal bearing the figure of a horse, and the legend *Parākrama*.[82] This is taken to refer to the *Aśvamedha* performed by Samudragupta Parākramāditya.[83] He appears to have adopted the Aśvamedha device also for his seal.[84]

According to Smith, a stone horse found in Uttar Pradesh, bearing a mutilated Prakrit legend ... *adaguttasa deyadhamma*, also probably refers to the *Aśvamedha* of Samudragupta.[85]

Incidentally, it may be mentioned here that the Poona Copper Plate Inscription of the Vākāṭaka queen Prabhāvatīguptā refers to Samudragupta as *anekāśvamedhayājin*,[86] one who performed more than one horse-sacrifices. This, however, does not seem to be the case.[87] The information given in the Poona Copper Plate Inscription and certain other Vākāṭaka records regarding the Gupta genealogy is not wholly correct. For instance, Chandragupta I, who is always referred to as *Mahārājādhirāja* in Gupta records,

is called simply *Mahārāja* in the Poona Plates.[88] Also, the usual epithets of Samudragupta, *Chaturudadhisalilāsvāditayaśasaḥ, Anekagohiraṇya-koṭisahasraprada, Sarvvarājochchhettā*, are applied to Chandragupta II in this record.[89]

Had Samudragupta performed more than one *Aśvamedha*, it could be expected that this fact would have found mention in the Gupta records, which proudly hail him as *Chirotsannāśvame-dhāharttuḥ*.

It is likely that the Vākāṭaka scribes who were accustomed to referring to Vākāṭaka princes as *anekayājī*, "performer of several sacrifices", thought that it might be insulting to the queen-regent if they referred to her grandfather as the performer of only one horse-sacrifice.

Bhandarkar has put forth a very interesting explanation of the epithet, *anekāśvamedhayājī*, used for Samudragupta by Prabhāvatīguptā.[90] He points out that in the *Mahābhārata*,[91] Vyāsa says to Yudhiṣṭhira, "Let thy sacrifice, O the best of kings, be performed in such a way that it shall not be defective. In consequence of the large quantity of that gold (having to spend which) it is called *Bahusuvarṇaka* (Profuse-Gold Sacrifice). Increase here the *dakshiṇā* threefold, O great king, and thy (sacrifice) shall become threefold. The Brāhmaṇas are competent for this purpose. Having thus accomplished three *Aśvamedhas* each with profuse *dakshiṇā*, thou shalt be freed, O king, from the sin committed in consequence of the slaughter of thy kinsmen." Bhandarkar suggests, "We have only to presume that he distributed *dakshiṇā* among Brāhmaṇas just so many times more than laid down for the sacrifice, but that he performed only one solemn rite."[92]

Artistically, the Aśvamedha type of Samudragupta is of very high order, and the "Aśvamedha coins are among the best specimens of the numismatic art of ancient India."[93] The graceful and noble figure of the horse; the grace and alertness with which the queen is standing, all go to add to the artistic merits of this coin-type. As Altekar points out, the device was executed by the best artists, who were well aware of the importance of the event they were called upon to commemorate on the coins.[94]

M.K. Dhavalikar has tried to raise some doubts regarding the attribution of Aśvamedha type to Samudragupta.[95] He argues that the type does not carry the name of Samudragupta, thus being the only type attributed to this ruler not bearing his name.[96] Also, the type has no foreign influence, and this makes its attribution to Samudragupta less likely, according to Dhavalikar.[97] He further says that Samudragupta performed the *Aśvamedha* "at the fag-end of his life for he practically had very little time at his disposal after his conquests. Evidently he could not issue the Aśvamedha type inspite of his desire to do so."[98] Dhavalikar suggests that the type was issued by Chandragupta II to commemorate his father.[99]

Dhavalikar's arguments do not appear to be very convincing. "The Allahabad Pillar Inscription states that *Parākrama* was the *aṅka* or the characteristic title of Samudragupta, so *Aśvamedha-parākramaḥ* was quite sufficient to indicate the name of the issuer."[100] We have also seen[100a] that the Aśvamedha type was issued on the occasion of the Aśvamedha probably to be given to the Brāhmaṇas. As such, there is no question of Samudragupta's having no time after the *Aśvamedha* to issue this type. Also, had these coin been issued by Chandragupta II, he would have mentioned his own name on them along with that of his father. On these grounds, Dhavalikar's attribution of this type to Chandragupta II

does not seem to be acceptable.

LYRIST TYPE OF SAMUDRAGUPTA

The *Prayāga Praśasti* of Samudragupta says that the emperor, through his sharp and polished intellect and mastery over the art of music, put to shame the guru of Indra, and the divine musicians Tumburu and Nārada.[101] This claim of the *praśasti* gets numismatic corroboration from the Lyrist type of coins of Samudragupta showing him playing on *vīṇā*.[102] Interestingly, the divine musicians mentioned in the epigraph, i.e., Tumburu and Nārada, are both known as players of the *vīṇā* or the Indian lute; in fact, the credit of inventing the Nāradīya *vīṇā* goes to Nārada, as the very name of the instrument suggests. Thus, the Lyrist type of Samudragupta provides "striking testimony to his love of music."[103] R.C. Majumdar rightly observes, "The high eulogies of the official record in respect of his personal accomplishments were not merely conventional or courtly praises, but had a large substratum of actual fact."[104]

The coins of the Lyrist type of Samudragupta are quite rare.[105] The view of Allan that these coins seem to be of the nature of medals,[106] seems to be appropriate. Samudragupta seems to have ordered the issue of these coins proclaiming his hobby,[107] and as such, these coins have to be taken as commemorative medals.

The Lyrist type of Samudragupta has been divided into two varities - Variety a consisting of "fine large coins with footstool without symbol on the reverse", and with the legend having the letter *ha* of the eastern variety; Variety b consisting of "small coins with symbol without footstool", and with the legend having the letter *ha* of the northern variety.[108] Interestingly, however, the smaller coins, i.e., coins of Variety b, are heavier than the larger

coins of Variety a.[109]

According to Allan, [110] the coins of Variety a may further be divided into two sub-varieties - those with the back of the throne upright and the king wearing a cap,[111] and those with the back of the throne sloping, and the king bareheaded.[112]

Allan suggests on the basis of the form of letters that coins of Variety a were the issues of the mint of the capital, while coins of Variety b were the issues of a provincial mint.[113] Altekar, although he says that "indications of the eastern and western forms of letters are not conclusive", he finds it "not unlikely" that the coins of Variety a were issued from the mint in the capital, and those of Variety b were issued from the mints in the outlying provinces.[114]

We shall now describe the coins of the Lyrist type of Samudragupta.

Var. a.

Obv. : King, nimbate, seated cross-legged upon a cushioned couch to l.; wearing waist-cloth; sometimes with pearl-bordered cap;[115] necklace, earrings, armlets; high back of the throne visible; playing *vīṇā*, which rests upon his lap; beneath couch, a pedestal with letter *Si*; Brāhmī legend, beginning at XII : *Mahārājādhirāja*[116] *Śrī Samudraguptaḥ*.

Rev. : Goddess, nimbate, seated on a wicker stool to l.; dressed in *sārī*, *cholī*, and sometimes an upper garment; wears necklace, earrings, armlets, anklets; in r. hand, a *pāśa*; in the l., a cornucopiae. No symbol. Brāhmī legend on the right, usually separated by a line : *Samudraguptaḥ*.[117]

Gold. Round. (Pl. XI, 8).

Var. b.

Obv. : Nimbate king, bareheaded, seated cross-legged upon a high-backed, cushioned couch, to l.; dressed in waist-cloth; wearing usual ornaments; playing *vīṇā*, which rests in laps; no pedestal beneath couch. Brāhmī legend, beginning at l : *Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Samudraguptaḥ.*

Rev. : Nimbate goddess, seated on wicker-stool, to l.; dressed in *sārī*, bodice, sometimes an upper garment; usual ornaments; noose in r. hand; cornucopiae in l. Symbol. Brāhmī legend : *Samudraguptaḥ.* [118]

Gold. Round. (Pl. XI, 9).

It has been suggested that the idea behind the depiction of the king seated on a high backed couch and playing on a *vīṇā* seems to be to represent Samudragupta as seated on the terrace of his palace in a summer evening, for he wears hardly any dress on the upper part of his body, relaxing with a *vīṇā*.[119] The king is, therefore, spending his hours of leisure by indulging in his favourite hobby.

The *vīṇā* in the hands of Samudragupta is quite different from the modern *vīṇā*, which has a straight, long, and narrow fret board and a gourd at one or both ends of this board. This modern type of *vīṇā* may be seen as early as in the sculptures of the Pāla period. The *vīṇā* of Samudragupta, as seen on this coin, is a seven-stringed instrument with, most probably, a hollow belly.[120] Such an instrument may be seen in the sculptures of Bharhut, Besnagar, and Amaravati.[121]

The syllable *Si*, which occurs on the pedestal on the coins of Variety a, has been explained by Allan as an abbreviation for the

word *siddhaṁ.*[122]This explanation has generally been accepted by the scholars[123]This might indicate that the coins were issued on some auspicious occasion.[124]

The reverse device of this coin-type of Samudragupta is rather unusual, in that it shows a female seated on a wicker-stool.[125] Smith is of the view that this reverse device is an exact copy of the Greek goddess Demeter as seen on a coin from Paros island, now in the British Museum Collection.[126] But, as pointed out by Altekar, this coin-type from Paros island is very rare, and unless it can be shown that this type, or its imitation, was well-known in India at the time, it would be difficult to accept that the reverse device of the Lyrist type of Samudragupta is a copy of a foreign type.[127]The artist is here trying to represent the deity in a new posture. The reverse type, according to Allan, "is an original deviation from the Ardochsho type".[128]

The goddess on the reverse here is generally identified with Lakṣmī.[129]Apart from the cornucopiae in the hand of the deity on the reverse, there is not a single trace of Kuṣāṇa influence. The obverse and the reverse devices of the Lyrist type of Samudragupta are completely original in conception and execution.[130]On some specimens of Lyrist type of Samudragupta,[131]the reverse legend is inscribed as *Sarmudraguptaḥ*. Allan is of the view that this was due to the carelessness of the moneyer, who thoughtlessly began to inscribe *Sarvarājochchhettā*, the reverse legend of the Kācha coins, and when he reached as far as *sarva*, he realised his mistake, and "corrected himself by adding the *u* and emphasising the top stroke of the *v* produced a passable *(r)m(u)*."[132]He also points out that the letter *ma* on these coins is practically closed like a *va*, while on the coins with the correct legend, *Samudraguptaḥ*, it is open, as it should be.[133]On this basis, he opines that this Lyrist type might be placed soon after the issue of the Kācha type.[133a] But this

explanation presupposes that the Kācha type was an issue of Samudragupta himself, which might not be the case.[134]It seems more likely that Kācha was different from Samudragupta, and actually came later than this ruler.[135]As such, Allan's suggestion seems to be inappropriate. It appears that the mistake in the legend was simply due to the carelessness of the moneyer, who added an extra *r* over the letter *ma* of the legend.

The Lyrist type of Samudragupta seems to be connected with the Aśvamedha type of that ruler with the letter *Si*.[135a]

According to Allan, the type might have been connected with the *Aśvamedha yajña* of Samudragupta,[136] for during the *Aśvamedha* a Rājanya lute-player[137] was required to sing three *gāthās* composed by himself to the notes of the *vīṇā*, the *gāthā* describing the military valour and victories of the sacrificer.[138] Allan, however, says that it is improbable that Samudragupta himself played the role of the *vīṇāgāthī*, and he interprets the type as representing Samudragupta at his favourite amusement.[139]

Altekar also believes that both the Lyrist and the Aśvamedha types were issued on the occasion of the *Aśvamedha*, and suggests that the singing of three *gāthās* by the Kṣatriya lute player during the *Aśvamedha*, along with Samudragupta's passion for music must have been responsible for the introduction of the Lyrist type.[140] Though the coins of this type are very rare as they are of the nature of medals,[141] it might be suggested that they were struck for distribution to the Brāhmaṇas on the occasion of the *Aśvamedha*.

Due to the high artistic quality[142] and medallic nature[143] of the coins of the Lyrist type, they are placed quite late in the reign of Samudragupta. If these coins were actually issued on the occasion of the *Aśvamedha*, as is believed, the type has to be placed in the latter part of the reign of Samudragupta, for, as already seen, we have reasons to believe that Samudragupta performed the

Aṣvamedha quite late in his life, after his brilliant military success in the north and south,[144] since the Prayāga Praśasti, which refers to these victories of Samudragupta, does not make a mention of his performance of the Aśvamedha sacrifice.[145]

R.D. Banerji refers to the Lyrist, the Aśvamedha, and the Tiger-slayer types of Samudragupta as "freak" types, without giving the actual reason(s) for describing these coins in this manner.[146] It is difficult to agree with him. If, as Altekar suggests,[147] R.D. Banerji regards these types as "freak" types because of their rarity, the Archer and the Battle-axe types of this ruler are equally rare; rather, the Aśvamedha type coins of Samudragupta are found in relatively larger numbers than his Battle-axe type coins or Archer type coins.[148] Altekar also says that "more careful thought and attention was bestowed in determining the details of these types than those of the Standard, the Archer, and the Battle-axe types, which are regarded by Banerji as regular types."[149] In fact, the Lyrist type coins of Samudragupta are among the best specimens of ancient Indian numismatic art.[150]

Altekar has drawn the attention of the scholars towards a silver coin of the Lyrist type of Samudragupta in the possession of Ram Govind Prasad.[151] The coin is exactly similar to the gold coins of this type of the larger variety.[152] Its surface is very blurred and blackened.[153] It weighs 74 grains. Altekar regards this coin as a piece of ancient forgery, for the Gupta silver coins were based on the standard of 33 grains.[154] The dies of the gold type seem to have been used for minting this silver piece.[155]

THE KĀCHA TYPE

The attribution of the Kācha type of coins is a very knotty

problem. There are two main views regarding this point. According to one group of scholars, Kācha was identical with Samudragupta, and, hence, the Kācha type was struck by him.[156] According to the other group, Kācha was different from Samudragupta, and might have been a brother or son of the latter.[157] The arguments put forth by the scholars of both the groups in favour of their respective views are strong but not conclusive. One can easily have an idea of the situation when one notes that a scholar of the calibre of Smith veered from one view to another more than once.[158]

Interestingly, R.D. Banerji, combined the two theories, and came forth with the suggestion that the Kācha type coins were commemorative medals issued by Samudragupta in memory of Kācha, who was probably a brother of Samudragupta, and who had predeceased his father, Chandragupta I.[159]

Before discussing the attribution, we shall proceed to describe the coin-type. The Kācha coins are of two varieties, the second variety coming to light only with the discovery of the Bayana hoard of Gupta gold coins.[160]

Var. a.

Obv. : King, nimbate, standing to l.; dressed in coat, trousers, a close-fitting cap; usual ornaments; holding *chakradhvaja* (standard surmounted by wheel) in l. hand; offering incense on altar with r. hand; Brāhmī legend under King's l. arm: *Kācha*. Circular Brāhmī legend beginning at I : *Kācho gāmavajitya divaṁ karmabhir-uttamair-jayati*.

Rev. : Goddess, nimbate, standing to l. on a circular carpet; dressed in *sārī, cholī*, upper garment; usual ornaments; flower in r. hand; cornucopiae

in l. hand. Symbol on l. at the centre. On r. Brāhmī legend : *Sarvarājochchhettā*.[161]

Gold. Round. (Pl. XII, 1).

Var. b.

Obv. : As the obverse of Variety a, but king wearing *dhotī* instead of trousers, and in front of the king is the *Garuḍadhvaja* in addition to the *chakradhvaja* in the.1 hand of the king.

Rev. : As the reverse of Variety a, but goddess holding *pāśa* instead of the usual flower in her r. hand. Symbol is on the l. at the top.[162]

Gold. Round. (Pl. XII, 2).

The goddess on the reverse is identified with Lakṣmī.[163] This seems to be the most likely identification.

The name of Kācha does not appear in any Gupta genealogy known so far. It is, however, almost certain that he has to be placed in the early Gupta period on the basis of numismatic evidence. His coins are found mostly associated with those of the early Gupta rulers, Chandragupta I, Samudragupta and Chandragupta II.[164] The Kasarva hoard[165] from Balia district of Uttar Pradesh contains coins of Samudragupta and Kācha only.[166] The Tanda hoard[167] consists of the coins of Chandragupta I, Samudragupta , and Kācha.[168]

A probability has been put forth that Kācha might not have been a Gupta ruler at all, but an upstart, who temporarily eclipsed the Gupta power either at the death of Chandragupta I, or during Samudragupta's southern campaign, when he was absent from the capital for quite some time.[169] This would explain the association

of his coins with those of Chandragupta I and Samudragupta, and also the absence of his name from official Gupta genealogies. Also, the *Prayāga Praśasti* of Samudragupta seems to refer to a war that he had to fight not long after his coronation.[170]

But the Kācha type coins are found only in the coin-hoards of Gupta kings like the Bayana heard, Tanda hoard,[171] the Kasarva hoard,[172] and the Sakori hoard.[173] The Bayana hoard[174] does not contain a single non-Gupta coin, yet we find sixteen coins of Kācha in this hoard.[175] This tends to show that Kācha was most probably a Gupta ruler. Altekar says, "One, however, finds it difficult to believe that the Gupta power was so completely eclipsed after the death of Chandragupta I as to render the gold coinage of the interloper possible."[176]

The identity of Kācha is very controversial. The early scholars like Prinsep and Thomas,[177] were of the view that Kācha might have oeen identical with Ghaṭotkacha, the father of Chandragupta I. But this view does not seem to be appropriate, for Ghaṭotkacha is referred to in Gupta records as a mere *Mahārāja*, which was the title of a feudatory in the Gupta period, and he could not possibly have issued his own coins.[178] Then, on most of the specimens of Kācha type, the name of the king is clearly spelt as *Kācha* and not as *Kacha*. And Ghaṭotkacha could not possibly have ever been contracted into *Kācha*.[179]

Scholars like Fleet,[180] Smith,[181] and Allan[182] are of the view that Kācha might be identified with Samudragupta. The arguments put forth by these scholars, who advocate the identity of Kācha and Samudragupta, have been summed up as follows :[183]

The average weight of the Kācha type coins is the same as that of the various types of the coins of Samudragupta, i.e., about 116 grains.[184]

The obverse of the Kācha type bears a marked similarity to the obverse of the Standard type of Samudragupta, as regards the dress and posture of the king.[185]

The obverse legend of the Kācha type, i.e., *Kācho gāmavajitya divaṁ karmabhiruttamairjayati,* is "almost synonymous" with that of the Archer type of Samudragupta, i.e., *Apratiratho vijitya kṣitiṁ sucharitairdivaṁ jayati,*[186] the *karmabhiruttamair* of the Kācha type being equivalent with the *sucharitair* of the Archer type, and both referring to the sacrifices and meritorious works of the issuer.[187]

The reverse of the Kācha type is very similar to the reverse of the Tiger-slayer type[188] and the Aśvamedha type[189] of Samudragupta.

The reverse legend on the Kācha type is *Sarvarājochchhetta,* and this epithet is invariably given to Samudragupta alone in the Gupta epigraphs, though in the Poona and Rithpur Copper plates of Prabhāvatīguptā, the Vākāṭaka queen, this epithet is given to Chandragupta II, her father. But there Vākāṭaka records betray gross carelessness as far as the epithets of the Gupta rulers are concerned. For instance, in the Poona Copper Plates, Chandragupta I is described as mere *Mahārāja,* and Samudragupta as *Anekāśvamedhayājin.* As such, it shall not be appropriate to assume on the basis of these records alone that Chandragupta II, too, bore the epithet of *Sarvarājochchhettā.*[190]

According to H.C. Rayachaudhuri, "it is unthinkable that the style 'uprooter of all kings' could have been assumed by a Gupta monarch other than the one who is actually credited with that achievement by a contemporary inscription", i.e., Samudragupta.[191]

The difference in the names Kācha and Samudragupta is not

"insuperable obstacle in the identity of the two rulers."[192] Samudragupta might have had two names like Chandragupta II, who was also known as Devagupta. Fleet suggests that Kācha was perhaps a less formal name of Samudragupta.[193] Allan[194] suggests that Kācha might have been the original name of the king, who assumed the name Samudragupta when his conquests reached as far as the sea.[195]

But, as Altekar has pointed out, these arguments are not conclusive.[196] The evidence of weight would show that Kācha has to be placed before Chandragupta II, during whose reign, the average weight of the gold coins went up to 124 grains.

The similarity of the obverse of the Kācha type with that of the Standard type of Samudragupta need not be taken as a proof of the identity of the two rulers. The Kācha type is also similar to the Standard type of Chandragupta II.[197]

Similarly, mere paraphrasing of a legend need not prove the identity of Kācha with Samudragupta, The obverse legend on the Swordsman type of Kumāragupta I reads *Gāmavajitya sucharitaiḥ Kumāragupto divaṁ jayati*,[198] which is of almost the same form as that of the Kācha type. Are we then to identify Kācha with Kumāragupta I as well ?

The similarity of the reverse of the Kācha type with those of the Tiger-slayer and the Aśvamedha types of Samudragupta merely shows their probable nearness in time.[199]

The last two arguments put forth by those who support the identity of Kācha and Samudragupta are weighty, but still not conclusive. *Sarvarājochchhettā* was an epithet peculiar to Samudragupta alone. But he is not known to have used it in his lifetime,[200] and it was given to him only in the records of his successors.[201]

Also, Chandragupta II did have a second name, Devagupta, but "he never allowed it to appear on his coinage."[202] It is doubtful whether Samudragupta would have permitted his second name Kācha, to appear on his coinage, supposing that Kācha was his second name.[203]

Altekar is inclined to regard Kācha as different from Samudragupta, and he gives arguments in favour of this view.[204] He says that the Gupta emperors used different epithets on the obverse and the reverse sides of their coins. But the personal name which occurs under the king's arm, is one and the same for each ruler. The position of the name *Kācha* under the king's arm on the obverse of the Kācha type makes it highly possible that it was the personal name of the king,[205] and that he was different from Samudragupta, whose personal name is found under his arm on his coin-types as *Samudra*.

Then, the *chakradhvaja* of Kācha is peculiar to him alone, and this gives a "particular individuality"[206] to Kācha, thus suggesting that Kācha is different from the other Gupta rulers who do not put the wheel-topped standard on their coins. If Kācha was the same as Samudragupta, it is expected that the *chakradhvaja* would have appeared on some other type(s) of Samudragupta. But it is confined to the Kācha type alone in the vast range of Gupta coinage.

It is also argued that if Kācha was the familiar name of Samudragupta, why is it confined to the Kācha type alone, and does not appear on any other of this coin-types. It has also been suggested that Kācha was a step brother of Samudragupta who had challenged the succession of the latter,[207] inspite of the fact that Samudragupta had been nominated by Chandragupta I as his successor in the presence of the royal court. The *Prayāga Praśasti*

describes that this announcement rendered the faces of the other aspirants to kingship pale and downcast.[208] P.L. Gupta is of the view that a passage[209] in the *Kaliyugarājavṛittānta* of the *Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa* makes it clear that Kācha was a brother and rival of Samudragupta.[210] But the genuineness of this passage itself is doubtful.[211] P.L. Gupta also cites a passage from the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*[212] which shows that Samudragupta had a younger brother named Bhasma, who contested the throne against him, and ruled for a short time.[213] Gupta identified Kācha with Bhasma, for *Kācha* and *Bhasma*, both man "ashes"[214]. The author of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* is known to mystify the names of historical characters described by him, and as such, the use of the name Bhasma in place of Kācha might have been deliberate.[215]

Altekar is of the opinion that the Kācha type has to be placed after the Standard and Archer types of Samudragupta on numismatic grounds. Also, the Tiger-Slayer and Aśvamedha types of Samudragupta appear to have served as the prototype for the reverse of the Kācha type. As such, Kācha has to be placed after Samudragupta [215a]. This view of Altekar seems to provide strength to our surmise regarding the position of Kācha and Rāmagupta which will be discussed below.[216]

D.R. Bhandarkar has suggested that the actual name of the elder brother of Chandragupta Vikramāditya, mentioned in the literary and epigraphic sources, was Kācha, which might have been transformed into Rāma due to later clerical error, for a little carelessness in the dropping of the horizontal stroke of *ka* can transform it into *ra* and *cha* can become *ma* if the pen slips to the lĕft just beyond the loop of *cha*.[217] It is true that the identity of Kācha with Rāmagupta can explain the numismatic peculiarities

of the Kācha type, as described by Altekar,[218] but the discovery of the ċopper coins bearing the name of Rāmagupta, and also the typical Gupta *Garuḍa* standard,[219] which tend to show that Rāmagupta was an Imperial Gupta ruler, renders the identity of Kācha with Rāmagupta very doubtful.[220]

R.D. Banerji suggests that Kācha was a son of Chandragupta I who lost his life during the lifetime of this father, most probably during the Magadhan war of independence against the Later Kuṣāṇa rule, and that this brother, Kācha is being commemorated by Samudragupta by the issue of the Kācha type, which, Banerji says, are actually commemorative medals.[221] The theory , as Altekar says,[222] is "quite an ingenious one". The epithet, *Sarvarājoch- chhettā*, on the reverse of the Kācha type of coins may suggest the name of the issuer, for *Sarvarājochchhettā* was the epithet of Samudragupta. But there is no evidence to show that Chandragupta I fought a battle for the independence of Magadha, in which his son, Kācha, might have lost his life.[223] The position of the name Kācha under the arm of the king on the obverse of the Kācha type coins also seems to rule out the possibility of their being commemorative medals struck by Samudragupta, for this position is invariably reserved for the name of the issuer of the coin. As such, this theory of R.D. Banerji does not seem to be tenable.

Alterkar tentatively assumes that Kācha was a Gupta ruler who came after Samudragupta, [224] but has to be placed before Chandragupta II because of the weight of the Kācha type coins.[225]This seems to be the most appropriate view. But how are we to accommodate both Kācha and Rāmagupta between Samudragupta and Chandragupta II ?

K.D. Bajpai suggests that it is possible that after conquering

eastern Mālavā,[226] Samudragupta might have made Eran its provincial headquarter, and appointed his elder son, Rāmagupta, as the governor of the new province. After the death of Samudragupta, his brother Kācha might have occupied Pāṭaliputra,[227] where the royal gold mint was situated during the initial years of the Gupta rule,[228] and Rāmagupta was forced to stay at Eran,[229] with no access to the gold mint. This explains the absence of his gold coins. Bajpai further says that after killing the Śaka king, and also Rāmagupta, Chandragupta II seems to have dethroned Kācha at Pāṭaliputra with the help of the loyal officials and Magadhans, and established himself as the rightful Gupta emperor.[230]

This explanation, however, leaves the position of Rāmagupta quite unclear. That he was an independent sovereign ruler at one stage of his career is proved by the Jain images bearing the inscription which ascribes to Rāmagupta the title of *Mahārājādhirāja*.[231] To us, it appears that when Samudragupta nominated his younger son, Chandragupta II to succeed him,[232] he might have made his elder son, Rāmagupta, the provincial governor of Eran for life. When Kācha occupied the throne at Pāṭaliputra following the death of Samudragupta, Rāmagupta, on the advice of the Gupta generals and ministers loyal to his father's memory, might have refused to accept Kācha as his sovereign, and declared his independence. Hence the title *Mahārājādhirāja* for him. There is no evidence to show that Rāmagupta actually fought a battle with the Śaka king. Quite likely the very thought of a war might have forced the coward Rāmagupta to accept the humiliating terms of treaty offered by the Śaka ruler under the pretext of saving his subjects. His wife, Dhruvadevī, who was to be offered to the Śaka king under the proposed treaty, turned to Chandragupta [II] for

help and protection. The valiant brother-in-law, disguised as a female, went to the city of the Śaka ruler, and killed the latter.[233] He then must have killed or got killed his despised brother, Rāmagupta. Thereafter, he married his brother's widow, and then rushed to Pāṭaliputra, where he defeated and dethroned the usurper, Kācha, with the help of generals, ministers, and feudatories, who were loyal to the memory of Samudragupta. As such Rāmagupta, a son of Samudragupta, was only the ruler of the Mālavā region. This explains the position of Rāmagupta, the non-mention of his name in the Imperial Gupta genealogical lists,[234] the absence of his gold coins, as also the problem that how could a weak person like Rāmagupta prevent his valiant brother from ascending the throne, when the latter had been specifically named by Samudragupta as his successor.[235]

AŚVAMEDHA TYPE OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I

The Aśvamedha coin-type of Kumāragupta I is one of the most important types of that ruler, for these coins are main source of our knowledge regarding the performance of the *Aśvamedha* by that ruler.[236] No Gupta epigraphic record refers to the performance of the horse-sacrifice by Kumāragupta I.[237] The only other evidence, a doubtful one, for this event is one stone image of a horse from Khairigarh, presently housed in the State Museum, Lucknow.[238] This horse-image is believed to be the replica of the horse sacrificed at the horse-sacrifice celebrated by Kumāragupta I.[239]

Samudragupta is believed to have performed the *Aśvamedha* after his conquests in North and South India. It is not certain whether Kumāragupta's *Aśvamedha* followed any new conquest or acquisition of territory,[240] as we do not know definitely of any specific military campaign of Kumāragupta I.[241]

The coins of the Aśvamedha type of Kumāragupta I are very rare.[242] Artistically, they are inferior to those of Samudragupta.[243] While the horse on the latter was graceful and majestic, the animal on the former lacks both these qualities. The *yūpa* is crude, and the *raśanā* and *chaṣāla* are absent.[244]The queen on the reverse of the Aśvamedha type of Kumāragupta I is "stumpy, bent and fat" and is no match to the tall, slim, and graceful figure of the queen on the reverse of the Aśvamedha type of Samudragupta.[245]

The Aśvamedha coins of Kumaragupta I are of two varieties. The second variety has come to light only with the discovery of two coins of this type in the Bayana hoard.[246] We now proceed to describe the Aśvamedha type coins of Kumāragupta I.

Var. a.

Obv.	:	Caparisoned horse, standing to r.; *yūpa* in front of horse; penon flying above the animal. Circular Brāhmī legend, not yet properly read: *Devojitaśatruḥ Kumāraguptodhirājā.*[247]
Rev.	:	Queen (Anantadevī ?) standing to l.; dressed in *sārī* and upper garment; usual ornaments on her person; *chāmara* in r. hand over r. shoulder; l. hand hanging down, and holding a small towel;[248] ornamental and filleted *sūchī* in front of queen.[249] Brāhmī legend : *Śrī-Aśvamedhamahendraḥ.*[250]

Gold. Round. (Pl. XII, 3).

Before the discovery of the two coins of Variety b, it was believed that the horse on the Aśvamedha type coins of Kumāragupta I is always caparisoned as opposed to the uncaparisoned horse on the Aśvamedha type of coins of Samudragupta.[251] But on the coins of Variety b, the horse's back is bare.

Var. b.

Obv.	:	Bare horse, standing to l.; the rest as in Variety a.
Rev.	:	As in Variety a.[252]

Gold. Round. (Pl. XII, 4).

It is believed by some scholars that Kumāragupta I assumed the epithet *Mahendra* after performing the *Aśvamedha*, because in the reverse legend of his Aśvamedha type, he is called *Śrī-Aśvamedhamahendra.*[253]

The horse on the Aśvamedha type of Kumāragupta I bears a striking resemblance to the stone horse from Khairigarh, presently housed in the State Museum, Lucknow.[254] The animal is depicted as "somewhat mechanical, lifeless, and sad in appearance."[255] "The die-cutter(s) as well as the sculptor ably represented a helpless animal, standing still with stooping head and sorrowful eyes," as if "apprehending the imminent death at the horse-sacrifice."[256]

R.D. Banerji was of the view that during the reign of Kumāragupta I, the Gupta coinage reached the highest point of excellence.[257] The Horse-man, Tiger-slayer, Kārttikeya, Apartigha, King-and-Queen, Lyrist, Rhinoceros-slayer, Elephant-rider, and Elephant-rider-lion-slayer types of this king are no doubt of high artistic quality.[258] But one cannot fail to notice the deterioration in the Aśvamedha, as well as in the Archer and Lion-slayer types of Kumāragupta I as far as the artistic quality of the coins is concerned. This reveals the beginning of the decline in the numismatic art in the reign of Kumāragupta I.[259] As such, the view of R.D. Banerji is "but partly true".[260]

LYRIST TYPE OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I

With the discovery of the Bayana hoard, there came to light a very rare coin-type of Kumāragupta I - the Lyrist type. This hoard contains the only two specimens of this type known so far.[261] This type is regarded as "an effort to revive the Lyrist type of Samudragupta."[262] However, it is to be noted that Lyrist type coins were issued by only these two Gupta emperors - Samudragupta and Kumāragupta I - who both issued the Aśvamedha type of coins. Does this tend to support the close connection between *Aśvamedha yajña* and the Lyrist type, hinted at by Allan[263] and Altekar[264] ?

Samudragupta's skill in the art of music is also known from an epigraphic source[265] as well, apart from the Lyrist type of his coins.[266] We have, however, no such corroboration of the numismatic evidence of the Lyrist type of Kumāragupta I regarding his musical skill.

We now proceed to described the coin-type.[267]

Obv. : Nimbate king, dressed in *dhotī*; usual ornaments; seated on a straight-backed couch (*parayaṅkikā*), the back being clearly visible; r. leg folded on couch; l. leg over the r. one and hanging below; playing over a four stringed lute (*Vīṇā*) with the fingers of the r. hand; l. hand over lute, "its fingers gesticulating appreciation"; lute placed in the laps of the King. Circular Brāhmī legend, beginning at I : *Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Kumāraguptaḥ.*

Rev. : Within dotted border, a female figure, wearing usual ornaments; seated on a straight-backed couch; two sides and four legs, of tapdar design,

of the couch visible; r. leg of female figure folded under couch; l. leg hangs down in front of it; r. hand, holding a stalked flower, bent up; l. hand rests on couch. Brāhmī legend on l. : *Kumāragupta.*[268]

Gold. Round. (Pl. XII, 5).

The identification of the female figure on the reverse of this coin-type is doubtful. She might be identified as a goddess. But, as Altekar points out,[269] in Hindu iconography, a goddess is not usually shown as seated on a couch at ease, and smelling the flower held in her hand. Altekar thinks it more probable that the female figure here is that of the queen of Kumāragupta I, "Smelling a flower while sitting at the ease in the palace hall, perhaps listening to the music of her husband."[270]

The obverse of the Lyrist type of Kumāragupta I is quite similar to its prototype, the Lyrist type of Samudragupta. The obverse legend is also the same except that the name of Kumāragupta replaces that of Samudragupta.[271]

The reverse of this type of Kumāragupta I is markedly different from that of the Lyrist type of Samudragupta. The female (Goddess or queen ?) is shown seated on a couch, and not a wicker-stool as on the coins of Samudragupta.[272] Her left hand, instead of holding a cornucopiae, as on the coins of Samudragupta, is here resting on the couch. Her right hand holds a stalked flower, and not a *pāśa* as on the prototype. The reverse legend is on the left, and not on the right as on the Lyrist type of Samudragupta.[273]

The Lyrist type of Kumāragupta I is artistically of a high order, and is one of the best specimens of ancient Indian numismatic art. Altekar seems to be right in saying that first rate artists were summoned for the cutting of this rare die.[274]

A copper coin from S.K. Saraswati Collection was published by B.N. Mukherjee. He described the coin as follows :-

Obv. : King seated (probably on a couch), playing on a lyre, wearing close-fitting coat and trousers, bangles, ear-rings and necklace; border of dots; fragmentary legend in Gupta character on the side of the field just before the left knee of the king - *Nebūja.*

Rev. : Goddess (Lakṣmī) seated facing on lotus, nimbate, wearing girdle, bangles and necklace, holding lotus and fillet respectively in her right and left hands ; border of dots ; fragmentary legend in Gupta characters ... *Jaṇama.*"[275]

Copper. Round.

The name of the issuer of this coin is not clear from either the obverse or the reverse legend. B.N. Mukherjee attributes it to the Gupta period on the basis of palaeography, obverse and reverse devices, fabric, and general execution of the devices.[276] As both Samudragupta and Kumāragupta I are known to have issued Lyrist type coins in gold, B.N. Mukherjee regards this copper piece as attributable to either of these two Gupta emperors, but says that Kumāragupta has better claim to this coin because of "the reverse type (goddess seated on lotus), occurring on our coin, which is known to have appeared on the Gupta gold issues for the first time during the reign of Chandragupta II."[277] But if this coin is attributed to Samudragupta, he "should be considered to have been the originator of the Gupta copper series".[278]

But the coin is markedly different from the gold coins of the Lyrist type issued by the two Gupta emperors. As such, B.N.

Mukherjee says that this coin might have been issued "by a chief (having the name of Nebūja occurring on the obverse or Jaṇama appearing on the reverse (?)), pretending independence", or "by a rich private individual, probably a Banker,"[279] in imitation of the Gupta gold coins of the Lyrist type.

T.P. Verma, however, raises certain objections to these hypotheses of B.N. Mukherjee regarding the attribution of this copper piece.[280] He is of the opinion that the posture of the king on this coin is quite different from that of the kings on the Gupta gold coins of the Lyrist type. The deity on the reverse is also executed differently. He also does not accept the reading of the obverse legend of this coin proposed by B.N. Mukherjee. The reverse legend is engraved in the reverse manner according to him, a practice which goes against the established conventions of Gupta numismatics.[281]

Two Ephthalite copper coins of an exactly similar type were published by Cunningham.[282] T.P. Verma says that the copper coin here is the third specimen of this type; the object in the left hand of the king is a sceptre, which B.N. Mukherjee mistook for a lyre, while the object in his right hand is probably the upper portion of the hilt of a daggar or a small sword.[283] He thus regards the coin as an Ephthalite issue.[284]

APRATIGHA TYPE OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I

The Apratigha type of Kumāragupta I is a very controversial coin-type. Several attempts have been made to interpret this type; "the mystery about its nature and significance is, however, not yet solved."[285] Before taking up the interpretation of the coin-type, we will describe it.

Obv. : A male figure in the centre, standing, facing; dressed in *dhotī* with folds hanging between the

legs; hand folded at waist; hair tied up in a knot on the top of the head. To the right, a female figure, standing facing l.; dressed in *sārī* and bodice; l. hand on waist; r. hand bent up and raised in *vitarka mudrā* (posture of argumentation) with fingers almost touching the face of the central figure; to the left of the central figure, another male standing facing r.; close-fitting cap on head; l. hand placed on the waist near a short dagger; r. hand bent up, and in *vitarka mudrā.*[286] *Garuḍadhvaja* behind the central figure. None of the three figures is nimbate. Legend written horizontally, but in lines vertically placed between the central figure and the figures on his either side; on the r. side, to be read from top to bottom *Kumāra*; on the l. side to be read from bottom to top *guptaḥ.*[287] Circular legend, beginning at XII, not clear and very uncertain.[288]

Rev. : In dotted border, Lakṣmī, nimbate; seated facing on a double-petalled lotus; l. hand on waist akimbo; r. hand bent up and holding a stalked lotus, crudely represented by a cluster of four thick dots; two buds at the bottom of the long stalk; crescent in right upper corner on most specimens. Brāhmī legend on the right : *Apratighaḥ.*[289]

Gold. Round. (Pl. XII, 6).

The reading of the obverse legend, in Gupta Brāhmī, [290] is not certain. Various tentative readings have been suggested by the scholars.

V.V. Mirashi proposed to read the legend as *Pratāpaparamādhāraḥ Śrīprathamakramākramavapuḥ.*[291] Altekar

points out, "Prof. Mirashi reads after *Pratāpaparamādhāraḥ, Śrīprathamakramākramavapuḥ*, which is a part of *Śārdūlavikrīḍitaṁ* line. We cannot expect a hemistich in one metre to be followed by a portion of a line in another."[292]

S.V. Sohoni[293] reads the legend as

"(a) [X X ?] *pratāpa parameśvaraḥ*	ending at 3 o' clock.
(b) *Śrī Prathitakularūpadṛiptaḥ*	ending at 6 o' clock.
(c) *nirupamaguṇamahārṇṇavaḥ*	ending at 9 o' clock.
(d) *aprativāryavīryaḥ*	ending at 10 o' clock."

The reverse legend was read by Allan as *Śrī Pratāpaḥ*,[294] and on this basis, the type was called 'Pratāpa' by him[295] and subsequent scholars.[296] Altekar, however, read it as *Apratighaḥ*.[297] After an examination of the enlargement of the reverse of the type given by Sohoni in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*,[298] we are inclined to accept Altekar's reading. Sohoni, on the other hand, favours the reading *Śrī Pratāpaḥ* proposed by Allan.[299]

An altogether different reading has been proposed by Radhakrishna Chaudhary and T.H.D. Singh, who read the reverse legend as *Supratīpaḥ*.[300] This does not seem to be convincing. The first letter can certainly not be read as *su*.[301]

We now come to the various interpretations suggested by the scholars regarding the obverse of this type. According to Hoernle, "It showed three standing figures which appeared to represent the Buddha, worshipped by two women."[302] To this, Sohoni objects, "It was, however, not understood why the Buddha should be worshipped by two women only, and why all of them should remain standing."[303] Sohoni's objection is not very convincing. The two other figures might be standing if they were welcoming the Buddha who had just arrived. There are, however, other

grounds for rejecting Hoernle's suggestion. If the central figure is that of the Buddha, why is the woman to the right arguing with him.[304] The presence of the *Garuḍadhvaja* with the Buddha and two women also seems strange.[305]

Smith suggested, "The legend showed that the obverse central figure is the king and females must certainly be his consorts."[306] To this view it has been objected as to why should a king be represented as physically smaller than either of his two queens.[307] Moreover, as Altekar has shown, the figure on the left is not female, but male.[308] His right hand is bent up in front of the chest,[309] giving the false impression of a female's breasts.[310]

Allan, while remarking on the obverse of this coin-type, observed that "the central figure is Indian in style, while the two others are quite foreign."[311] He further remarked that "as the coin appears to be restruck on some foreign coin the whole may be an imitation or adaptation of some non-Indian type."[312] He also sees traces of the original Roman legend and type on the obverse.[313] This suggestion, however, seems difficult to accept.

Sohoni suggested initially that the obverse composition is an adaptation of a coin of Huviṣka showing three standing figures of Skanda, Viśākha, and Mahāsena,[314] and that in the Gupta period, when it was no longer necessary to reproduce Kārttikeya at one place under various names, he is shown with his two wives on either side on the Apratigha type.[315] The scholar himself later gave up this view.[316]

Mirashi suggested that the central figure on the obverse of this type was that of some sage, and the other two were the King and his Queen, who had gone to consult that saint at the time of a great calamity.[317] That this meeting took place at night is shown by the crescent in the field.[318] But, as Altekar points out, "the attitude of

the lady is one of expostulation and not of entreaty."[319] The right hand of the male figure on the left is also in the *vitarka mudrā*. Also, as we have pointed out elsewhere, the central figure is not nimbate, while we would have expected the figure of a sage or spiritual *guru* to be shown with a nimbus.[320]

According to R.C. Majumdar,[321] the central figure is that of Śiva, as a crescent is present near the head of this figure in some specimens.[322] The female figure on the right may be that of Pārvatī, and the male on the left may be that of Nandin. He identifies the obverse composition of the type as the attempted *Dhyāna-bhaṅga* of Śiva by Pārvatī, described by Kālidāsa in *Kumārasambhavaṁ*.[323] If we accept this suggestion, we would again find it difficult to explain the presence of the *Garuḍadhvaja* on the obverse of this coin-type.[324]

According to Altekar, the central figure is "undoubtedly" that of Kumāragupta. The female on the right may be his queen; the male on the left, his general or *yuvarāja*.[325] He tentatively suggests that Kumāragupta I might be contemplating renunciation, and his queen and general or yuvarāja are trying to persuade him not to take this course, but without success, as is shown by the folded hands of the king, representing his inability to accept their arguments.[326] As he is determined, and cannot be dissuaded, he is described as *apratigha*, "invincible" on the reverse.[327]

We have elsewhere pointed out certain difficulties in accepting Altekar's suggestion.[328] The vertical legend, *Kumāraguptaḥ*, on the obverse proves beyond doubt that the type was an issue of Kumāragupta [I]. If Kumāragupta I had decided to renounce the world, and the throne with it, as is understandable, was he issuing these coins after abdicating the throne ? Could a king who had abdicated the throne strike coins in his name ? And above all,

would he have had the desire to commemorate any event of his life once he had decided to renounce the world ?[329] Hence, the central figure cannot be that of Kumāragupta I.[330] Regarding Altekar's statement that the central figure is clearly that of Kumāragupta I as *Kumāraguptaḥ* is written vertically on its two sides,[331] we have suggested that the name of the issuing monarch is usually written vertically on the obverse of the coins. The presence of the vertical legend *Kumāra-guptaḥ* on both sides of the central figure need not necessarily imply that this figure is that of Kumāragupta I. It seems to be possible that owing to lack of space, the legend was broken into two parts - *Kumāra* and *guptaḥ* - and written vertically on the two sides of the central figure. A similar case can be seen on some coins of the Standard type of Samudragupta,[332] where the vertical legend *Samudra* is engraved beneath the king's left arm, and *guptaḥ* outside the standard.[333]

Moreover, if the central figure is that of Kumāragupta I, is it possible that he is standing in front of his wife and son, or general, in such a meek attitude with hands clasped at the chest, as he can be seen on the obverse of this type, while the other two figures seems to be rather aggressive in their attitude towards the central figure ?[334]

The Bhitari Stone Pillar Inscription[335] of Skandagupta, the son of Kumāragupta I, expressly states that Skandagupta restored the fortunes of his family, which had fallen since the death of his father,[336] not since the renunciation of his father. Had Kumāragupta I become a recluse, his death would have had no bearing on the ruin of the fortunes of the Gupta family.[337]

B.P. Sinha also holds that Kumāragupta I renounced the world,[338] and that this point is being debated upon on the obverse of this type.[339] He suggests that Kumāragupta I decided to select

Skandagupta as his successor. But he was not the son of the chief-queen, and hence, had no legitimate right to the throne. The chief-queen wanted her son to succeed Kumāragupta I. Sinha writes : "we have on the coin the two queens of Kumāragupta in high temper arguing with the king in their conflicting self-interest for their respective sons, and each might have been trying to persuade the king not to retire but to strengthen the claims of their sons. But Kumāragupta was determined to follow his decision and hence the legend Apratigha."[340] Sinha also suggests that Kumāragupta I might have decided to retire because of this domestic crisis.[341] Sohoni considers Sinha's suggestion as "a feeble explanation."[342] We do not find it likely that Kumāragupta I would have publicised a domestic crisis by representing it on his coins.

Sohoni's second interpretation of the obverse composition of the type[343] was that it depicts Kumāra (= Kārttikeya) visiting Kaśyapa and Aditi before setting out to fight with Tāraka, an incident described in the *Kumārasambhavaṁ*[344] of Kālidāsa.[345] On this basis, Sohoni also suggested that the type belonged not to the end of the reign of Kumāragupta I, but to a stage of his initial military adventures, for the Gupta die-cutter is here alluding to Kumāragupta I.[346]

This interpretation again does not explain the presence of the *Garuḍadhvaja* on the obverse of this type,[347] for, as Mirashi has pointed out,[348] the standard of Kārttikeya is not a *Garuḍadhvaja*, but the *Mayūradhvaja*. It is seen that Sohoni himself gave up this view later.[349]

Sircar suggests that the obverse device of this type represents Kumāragupta I standing between a male and a female figure, who might have been divinities.[350] As Kumāragupta I is shorter in stature than the other two persons, he seems to be represented as

a boy. His folded hands show his reverential attitude towards these two figures on his either side. By not looking at either of them, he seems to be giving equal revere. :e to both. The male figure to his right is shown in the attitude of presenting a *Garuḍadhvaja* and a shield to Kumāragupta I. The female figure, too, appears to be offering to him an uncertain object held in her right hand.[351] Sircar is of the view that Kumāragupta I supposedly lost his father at a tender age, and was dethroned by his adversaries, "who even snatched away the Garuḍa-dhvaja which was the banner of the Imperial Gupta house."[351a] At this stage, he was presented with certain objects by a male and a female friend, "probably believed to have been divine personages in disguise," and with the help of these objects, he was able to vanguish his enemies and make himself invincible, "Apratigha"[351 b]. Sircar says that his conjecture gains support from the marginal legend of this type. He reads the first five syllables between III and VI as *ā(or prā)ptapatāko*, i.e., *āpta-patāko* or *prāpta-patāko*, "[Kumāragupta] who has received his patākā, i.e., flag or banner."[352] The next five syllables he reads, - though less confidently - as *nukapadaptaḥ*, i.e. *[a]nukampā-dīptaḥ*, "[Kumāragupta] who was stimulated by the sympathy [of friends]."[353]

Munish Chandra Joshi suggests that the Apratigha type belongs to the last years of the reign of Kumāragupta I, when he was leading a "semi-ascetic life". He was still the *de jure* ruler, but Skandagupta was the *de facto* ruler at the time, as suggested by the *Garuḍadhvaja* in his hand.[354] Joshi writes : "*The vitarka mudrā* of the queen is indicative of the discussion that is going on between them concerning the policy matters of the kingdom. The king seems to be not inclined to participate in it, as it evident from the position of his hands in *jñāna mudrā* pointing to his spiritual

progress. It is probably the problem of the crown-prince, who is ruling on behalf of his father, that they are debating upon. It was perhaps the usual practice in those days. Therefore, the king issued this variety of the coins depicting the real position of the prince and himself."[355] Joshi also suggests that the crescent near the head of the central figure probably refers to Kumāragupta I, who styles himself *Guptakulāmala-chandraḥ*, i.e., the moon in the Gupta Family.[356] Regarding the meaning of *Apratigha*, Joshi says that it implies "not furious" or "unirritated", i.e., *akrodhī*, and seems to suggest that the king had given up military career, and is *apratigha*.[357]

Commenting on this, Altekar says,[358] that *Apratigha* literally means unobstructed, unimpeded, and is used in this sense in the *Manusmṛiti*.[359] But it is also possible that it has "a Mahāyāna Buddhist tinge about it, as it has in the *Amarakosha* also."[360] In Mahāyāna literature, the word *pratigha* is used for anger, aversion, etc., for they destroy the roots of merit. Kumāragupta I may be *Apratigha* because during the renunciation stage, he had risen above anger, aversion, hostility.[361] Altekar says that this may support Joshi's interpretation, and suggests that the policy being discussed might be the battle with the Hūṇas. Though Kumāragupta I is being argued with to act against them, he is not doing anything, because, being *Apratigha*, he is feeling no anger towards them.[362]

Ajit Ghosh is of the view that the obverse of the Apratigha type shows Kumāragupta I consulting his parents.[363] A. Ghosh says that Kumāragupta I is being sent on a military campaign by his father, who is presenting him the *Garuḍadhvaja*, while his mother blesses him.

The type was struck to testify to the valour and prowess of Kumāragupta, and "thus to justify his kingship and hence it was a

commemorative issue."

Sohoni's third interpretation of the obverse of this type was that it depicts military valour (Pratāpa) and royal fortune (Śrī) "standing personified in front of the king."[364] He identifies the central figure as Kumāragupta I,[365] the female figure on the right as Śrī, the goddess of royal fortune,[366] and the male figure on the left as Pratāpa, military valour personified.[367] He says that the first quarter of the obverse circular legend, as read by him,[368] labels these three persons in the group, viz., *Pratāpa, Parameśvara* (King), and *Śrī*.[369] According to ancient Indian political thought, military valour, royal prosperity, and king were firmly related. The *Amarakoṣa* says that "that was Pratāpa which was lustre born from *kosha* (treasure) and *daṇḍa* (military power or army)."[370]

Sohoni's interpretation is based mainly on his reading of the obverse circular legend which is by no means final. He also suggests that the central figure on the obverse of this type is not dressed as a recluse, but wearing royal dress and ornaments.[371] We are, however, unable to agree with Sohoni regarding the dress of the central figure. As such, we feel that the dress of the central figure also does not support Sohoni's interpretation.

Brajadeo Prasad Roy is of the opinion that Skandagupta was not the son of the chief-queen, and hence, had no legitimate claim to the Gupta throne. But he had rendered invaluable services to the empire during the last years of the reign of his father, Kumāragupta I,[371a] and regarded himself the rightful claimant to the throne. Roy suggests that the obverse of the Apratigha type shows Skandagupta (male figure on the left) requesting his father (central figure) to nominate him as his successor. The chief-queen (female figure on the right) is arguing against this, claiming the throne for her own son. Kumāragupta I is expressing his inability to appoint

Skandagupta as his successor. Hence the clapsed hands.[372] Kumāragupta I struck these coins to show his impartiality over the matter of succession.[373] After the death of Kumāragupta I, Skandagupta captured the Gupta throne by dent of his valour.[374]

It is, however, difficult to accept this suggestion. It is well-known that the Gupta rulers selected their own successors, and this selection was on the basis of abilities, rather than on the basis of birth or age. Samudragupta[375] and Chandragupta II[376] are known to have succeeded their respective fathers in this manner. Hence, there is hardly any question of partiality in selecting the ablest son as the successor in Gupta tradition.

Radhakrishna Choudhary suggests that Kumāragupta I issued this coin-type somewhere in western India[377] to commemorate his victory over his brother, Govindagupta, as a result of which victory, he ascended the throne.[378] The obverse shows him (central figure) discussing his victory and the consequent assumption of sovereign power, with his commander (male figure on the left) and his queen (female figure on the right). He is shown without any royal dress because he "commemorated the victory certainly without any ostentation as it concerned the family feud and that he did with the issue of this type."[379]

But there is no convincing evidence to show that Kumāragupta I had to fight against his brother, Govindagupta, before ascending the throne.

S.R. Goyal suggests that the obverse of the Apratigha type betrays the Buddhist leaning of Kumāragupta I.[380] B.N. Mukherjee was earlier of the view that the obverse of the Apratigha type shows the die-cutter's intention to identify Kumāragupta I with the Buddha, to whom also the epithet Apratigha was applicable.[381] The scholar later gave up this view[382] and suggested that the obverse

shows Kumāragupta I (central figure) represented as a recluse. But the *Garuḍadhvaja* behind him shows that he is still the reigning monarch. Hence, the Gupta die-cutter has represented him as "a ruling king leading otherwise the life of an ascetic."[383] The crown-prince or general (male figure on the left) and the chief-queen (female figure on the right) are shown as dissuading the king from renouncing the throne.[384] Mukherjee suggests that they appear to have succeeded in making the king change his decision, for the Bhitari Stone Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta indicates his rule upto the end of his life.[385] The reverse legend *Apratigha* suggests that Kumāragupta I is invincible in his resolve to lead the life of an ascetic even while remaining on the throne.[386] The meek and almost submissive attitude of the central figure (who, according to Mukherjee, is the reigning monarch) in front of his *yuvarāja* or general, and wife, and the aggressive attitude of the latter two persons towards the "reigning monarch (?)" still remains unexplained.[387]

Recently, we had suggested[388] that the central figure on the obverse of this type is not that of Kumāragupta I, but of his *yuvarāja*, who has decided to renounce the world. The woman to his left is his mother, the queen of Kumāragupta I, and the man to his right is either Kumāragupta I himself, or the general of the imperial forces.[389] Both are trying to dissuade the young prince from renouncing the world. As the prince does not change his mind even after the best efforts of his parent(s), he, and not Kumāragupta i, is called *Apratigha*, 'Invincible'.[390] The epithet, *Apratigha* is not known from any available source to have been used for Kumāragupta I.[391]

Scholars of the calibre of Sircar[392] and Majumdar[393] are of the view that Skandagupta had to struggle with his brothers to ascend

the throne.[394] It is, however, quite likely that Kumāragupta I, like Chandragupta I[395] and Samudragupta,[396] had selected his heir during his lifetime. Whether this chosen heir was Skandagupta, or some other son of Kumāragupta I, is not known.[397] The Bhitari record of Skandagupta shows that he was devoted to his father.[398] In this condition, it seems normal to assume that he would not have revolted against the person selected by his father to succeed him.[399] The struggle for succession could have occurred only if either the heir-apparent chosen by Kumāragupta I had died a short while before the death of the emperor, or had refused to accept the throne in future for some reason, and Kumāragupta I had died shortly after the prince's decision of renunciation, without nominating another prince to succeed him.[400]

We had, therefore, suggested that the central figure on the obverse of the Apratigha type of Kumāragupta I is that of this *yuvarāja*, who had decided to renounce the world, while his parents are trying to persuade him to change his decision. Owing to the renunciation of the world by the heir-apparent, and the subsequent death of the king without nominating a successor, there was a struggle for succession among the sons of Kumāragupta I, in which Skandagupta emerged victorious.[401]

Kumāragupta I commemorated the act of renunciation of his chosen *yuvarāja* by issuing the Apratigha type of coins. As the characters of the legends on this type are of the western variety of the Gupta period Brāhmī script, these coins might have been for circulation in the western provinces.[402] There is a great possibility of this prince's being associated with the administration of some western province(s).

Our suggestion would also explain the shortness of the central figure than the other two figures, especially the female figure on

the right. The prince seems to have been shorter than both his parents, most probably because he had not as yet fully grown up physically, or else the artist had shown the female figure taller with a view to suggesting the important status of queen-mother.

But as long as the circular legend on the obverse of this type is not satisfactorily read, it would not be possible to interpret the obverse composition with certainty.[403]

References

1. They will be of three types if we accept R.D. Banerji's view that the Kācha type is a commemmorative medal. See *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 213
2. *BMC, GD*, pp. lxiv-lxviii.
3. *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, pp. 8, 209, 211-213, 218.
4. See *supra*, Chapter V.
5. *CGE*, p. 32.
6. *CII*, Vol. III, No. 1.
7. Allan, *BMC,GD*, p. xxxi; Smith, *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 96; R.D. Banerji, *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 213; Altekar, *CGE*, pp. 61-62.
8. Allan, *BMC,GD*, p. xxxi; also Altekar, *CGE*, p. 20.
9. Cf. S.R. Goyal, *Gupta Kālīna Abhilekha*, p. 171, who says that the Praśasti was actually engraved at the occasion of the *Aśvamedha*, for at one stage of the *yajña*, a Rājanya lute-player is required to sing three *gāthās* describing the sacrificer's valour and victories. S.R. Goyal also says that this pillar, on which the Praśasti is inscribed, was probably brought from Kauśāmbī to Prayāga on the occasion of the *Aśvamedha* to serve as a *śobhā-yūpa*. See *A History of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 188. But Allan, *BMC,GD*, p. xxxii, says, "The inscription was probably engraved before the *Aśvamedha* was celebrated."
10. For the use of this epithet of Samudragupta in the inscriptions of his

successors, see CII, Vol. III, No.4; No. 10; No.12; No.13, etc.

11. See also R.C. Majumdar, *CA* pp. 14-15. Cf. *CGE*, p. 20; also *VGA*, pp. 153-154; N.N. Ghosh, *Early History of India*, p. 259, and fn. 2.

12. See *PHAI*, p. 484.

13. Cf. *CA*, pp. 14-15.

14. *B,CII*, Vol. III, p. 38.

15. See Allan, *BMC,GD*, p. lxxvi, and fn.3. See also *CGE*, p. 21.

16. E.g., the Mathura Stone inscription of Chandragupta II, line 4 (*CII*, Vol. III, No.4); Bilsad Stone Pillar Inscription of Kumāragupta I, line 2 (*ibid.*, No.10); Bihar Stone Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta, line 16 (*ibid.*, No. 12); Bhitari Stone Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta, line 2 (*ibid.*, No. 13), etc.

17. Line 7, *CII*, Vol. III, No. 2.

18. See Allan, *BMC, GD*, pp. xxx-xxxi.

19. *B,CII*, Vol. III, p. 40.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 41

21. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, xlii, 1-5.

22. Allan, *BMC,GD*, p. lxxvii.

23. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, xiii, 1, 6, 3.

24. Eggeling, Introduction to translation of *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, Vol. V, p. xv..

25. *VGA*, p. 153.

26. *CGE*, p. 61.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

28. *ABORI*, Vol. VII, pp. 164-165. Also *JNSI*, Vol. XX, Pt. II, p. 176.

29. *GGCBH*, Pl. V, 4.

30. *Ibid.*, Pl. IV, 6, 12.

30a. *Ibid.*, Pl. IV, 6, 12, 13.

31. *Ibid.*, Pl. V, 2.

32. *NC*, 1891, Pl. II, 2.
33. *GGCBH*, Pl. V, 4.
34. *GGCBH*, Pl. IV, 12, 13; Pl. V, 2.
35. *Ibid.*, Pl. V, 1.
36. *Ibid.*, Pl. IV, 6.
37. *NC*, 1891, Pl. II, 2.
38. *GGCBH*, Pl. IV, 6, 12.
39. *Ibid.*, Pl. V, 1. See also *BMC,GD*, p. 21, fn. 1.
40. Allan calls her the "chief queen", *BMC,GD*, p. 21.
41. This, on some coins (e.g., *GGCBH*, Pl. IV, 6), looks like a lotus. See *CGE*, p. 62, fn. 2. Allan refers to it as a chain (?). *BMC,GD*, p. 21. *Smith* refers to it as a lotus. *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 101.
42. *BMC,GD*, Pl. V, 14.
43. *CGE*, p. 67; *BMC,GD*, p. 21; *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 101.
44. *CGE*, Pl. III, 11, 12.
45. *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, 23.8.
46. *CGE*, Pl. III, 7, 9, 10.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 63.
48. *JRAS*, 1901, p. 102.
49. This is not clearly visible. See *BMC,GD*, p. lxxvii.
50. *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, VI, 6 4.
51. *CGE*, Pl. III, 10.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 63.
53. *Rāmāyaṇa*, I. 14. 22. See *CGE*, p. 64, and fn. 2.
54. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XI.7.3.2
55. *CGE*, p. 64.
56. *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, VI. 127. 8.
57. *CGE*, p. 65.
58. *BMC,GD*, p. lxxvii; also, *CGE*, p. 63.
59. *NC*, 1891, Pl. II, 2

60. *BMC,GD*, p. lxxvii.
61. *CGE*, p. 64.
62. *Ibid.*
63. *BMC, GD*, p. 21.
64. *JASB*, 1914, p. 205.
65. *BMC,GD*, p. 21, fn. 1.
66. *GGCBH*, Pl. V, 1. See *CGE*, p. 65.
67. *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 101, coin no. 2, Pl. XV, 3.
68. *CGE*, p. 65, Pl. III, 9.
69. See *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 101, fn. 1; also *BMC, GD*, p. lxxvii, and *CGE*, p. 67.
70. *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, VI, 6. 1.
71. *Dhāvitrairūpavījayaṁti Pātrejanahastāṁ vāchayati.*
72. *CGE*, p. 66.
73. *BMC,GD*, Pl. V, 14.
74. *Ibid.*, p. lxxviii.
75. *CGE*, p. 66.
76. *Ibid.*
77. *JRAS*, 1889, p. 65.
78. *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 101.
79. *BMC,GD*, p. lxxviii.
80. See *CGE*, p. 66, and fn. 3.
81. *JRAS*, 1901, p. 102. Also, *GGCBH*, pp. lxiii-lxiv.
82. *JRAS*, 1901, p. 102, Pl.3.
83. *BMC,GD*, p. xxxi .
84. *CGE*, p, 62, fn. 1.
85. *EHI* (2nd ed .), p. 273.
86. Line 3, *SI*, Vol. I, p. 436.
87. See D.C. Sircar, *SI*, Vol. I, p. 436, fn. 3, "It is hardly credible that Samudragupta performed many Aśvamedhas." See also, *JNSI*, Vol.

XX, Pt. II , p. 176.

88. Line 2, See S.R. Goyal, *Gupta Kālīna Abhilekha*, p.370.

89. D.C. Sircar, *SI*, Vol. I, p. 436, fn. 3.

90. See *B,CII*, Vol. III, pp. 39-40.

91. XIV, 88, 13-15.

92. *B,CII*, Vol. III, p. 40.

93. Altekar, *CGE*, p. 62.

94. *Ibid.*

95. *JNSI*, Vol. XX, Pt. II, pp. 175-177.

96. *Ibid.*, pp. 175-176.

97. *JNSI*, Vol. XX, Pt. II, p. 176.

98. *Ibid.*

99. *Ibid.*, pp. 176-177.

100. A.K. Narain, *JNSI*, Vol. XX, Pt. II, p. 175, fn. 4. Cf. *GGCBH*, pp. lxiii-lxiv. Cf. also a variety of the gold coin of Budhagupta with only his *biruda 'Vikrama' CGE*, p. 278, Pl. XV, 11. *JNSI*, XX, Pt. II, p. 175, fn. 4.

100a. See *supra*.

101. Line 27, *CII*, Vol. III, No. 1.

102. See Altekar, *CGE*, p. 73; also *PHAI*, pp. 484-485; *VGA*, p.155.

103. *CA*, p. 14.

104. *Ibid.*

105. Altekar, *CGE*, p. 73.

106. *BMC,GD*, pp. lxxv-lxxvi.

107. *CGE*, p. 20.

108. *BMC,GD*, p. lxxv.

109. *CGE*, p. 73.

110. *BMC,GD*, p. lxxv.

111. *Ibid.*, Pl. V, 1-4.

112. *Ibid.*, Pl. V, 5-7..

113. *BMC,GD*, p. lxxv.

114. *CGE*, p. 75.

115. *BMC,GD*, Pl. V, 1-4.

116. *Ibid.*, Pl. V, 4 seems to have only *Rājādhirāja*. See *ibid.*, p. lxxv, fn. 5.

117. *BMC,GD*, pp. 18-19, Pl. V, 1-7, *JASB*, 1884, i, Pl. II, 7; *JRAS*, 1889, Pl. I, 5; *CGE*, pp. 75-76, Pl. III, 15, 16; *IMC*, Vol. I, pp. 101-102, Pl. XV, 4, For the reverse legend, see *infra*.

118. *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 102, Pl. XV, 5; *BMC,GD*, p. 20, Pl. V, 8; *JNSI*, Vol. V, Pl. IX, 7; *JASB*, 1884, Pl. II, 8, *JRAS*, 1889, Pl. I, 6; *CGE*, p. 77, Pl. III, 7; *GGCBH*, Pl. VI, 8.

119. Cf. *CGE*, p. 73.

120. *Ibid.*, pp. 73-74.

121. *JAOS*, 1930, p. 244.

122. *BMC,GD*, p. lxxv.

123. E.g., see Altekar, *CGE*, p. 74.

124. See *infra*.

125. *CGE*, p. 74.

126. *JRAS*, 1889, p. 24.

127. *CGE*, p. 74, Cf. Allan, *BMC,GD*, p. lxxv - "there is no reason to assume foreign influence, as has been done by some writers."

128. *BMC,GD*, p. lxxv.

129. Ibid., p. lxxv; *CGE*, p. 76. But see *CGE*, p. 74, where Altekar says "Goddess or a female".

130. See *CGE*, p. 73.

131. E.g., *BMC,GD*, Pl. V, 1.; *IMC*, Vol. I, Pl. XV, 4.

132. *BMC, GD*, p. lxxvi.

133. *Ibid.*

133a. *Ibid.*

134. Altekar, *CGE*, p. 75.

135. See *infra*.

135a. *BMC,GD*, p. lxxvi; *CGE*, p. 40.

136. *BMC,GD*, p. lxxvi.

137. *Rājanyo vīṇāgāthī.*

138. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIII. 4, 3, 5.

139. *BMC,GD*, p. lxxvi.

140. *CGE*, p. 74.

141. See Allan, *BMC,GD*, pp. lxxv-lxxvi.

142. Altekar, *CGE*, p, 40.

143. *BMC, GD*, pp. lxxv-lxxvi.

144. See *supra*.

145. At least in the extant portions of the record, there is no mention of the *Aśvamedha*.

146. See *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, pp. 215-217.

147. *CGE*, p. 21.

148. *CGE*, p. 21.

149. *Ibid.*

150. *Ibid.*, p. 40.

151. *JNSI*, Vol. XXI, Pt. II, pp. 191-192.

152. *Ibid.*, p. 191.

153. *Ibid.*

154. *Ibid.*, pp. 191-192.

155. *Ibid.*, p. 192.

156. Smith *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 16; Heras, *ABORI*, Vol. IX, pp. 83, ff.; Rapson, *JRAS*, 1893, p. 81; Allan *BMC,GD*, p. xxxiii; also H.C. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, p. 470, and fn. 4; Fleet, *CII*, Vol. III, p. 27.

157. Altekar, *CGE*, p. 87; Smith, *JRAS*, 1893, p. 95; P.L. Gupta, *JNSI*, Vol. V, Pt. I, pp. 33-36, Pt. II, pp. 149-150.

158. Smith was once of the view that Kācha was identical with Samudragupta (*JRAS*, 1889, pp. 75-76). He later accepted that Kācha was different from Samudragupta (*JRAS*, 1893, p. 95). He again reverted to his view that the two were identical (*IA*, 1902, pp. 259-60). See *JNSI*, Vol. IX, Pt. II, p. 132, fn. 2.

159. *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, pp. 8-10, 213.

160. See *JNSI*, Vol. X, II, p. 95

161. *BMC,GD*, pp. 15-17, Pl. II, 6-13; *GGCBH*, Pl. IV, 1; *CGE*, pp. 87-88, Pl. IV, 1-4.

162. *JNSI*, Vol. X, Pt. II, pp. 95-96, Pl. V,1; *GGCBH*, Pl. VII, 11; *CGE*, p. 89, Pl. IV, 5.

163. *BMC,GD*, p. 15. Cf. Altekar, *CGE*, p. 88, where he writes Goddess (Lakṣmī ?).

164. Altekar, *CGE*, p. 78.

165. *JASB*, 1914, p. 174.

166. *CGE*, p. 308.

167. *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1886, p.68.

168. *CGE*, p. 307.

169. See *CGE*, p.79.

170. See *ibid.*, p. 83.

171. This hoard consists of the coins of Chandragupta I, Samudragupta, and Kācha only. See *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1886, p.68.

172. This hoard has coins of Samudragupta and Kācha only. *JASB*, 1914, p.174.

173. Apart from the coins of Kācha, this hoard has coins of Samudragupta, Chandgragupta II, and Skandagupta, *CGE*, p. 309, and fn. 3.

174. See *GGCBH*. Also *CGE*, pp. 311-316.

175. *CGE*, pp 311-312.

176. *Ibid.* p. 83.

177. See *CGE*, p. 79. See also S. Bhattacharya in *Reappraising Gupta History for S.R. Goyal*, pp. 77-82.

178. *CGE*, p. 79.

179. *JNSI*, Vol. IX, Pt. II, pp. 131-132.

180. *CII*, Vol. III, p. 27.

181. *IA*, 1902, pp. 259-260.

182. *BMC,GD*, pp. xxxiii-xxxiv; See also T.P. Verma, *Reappraising Gupta History for S.R. Goyal*, pp. 102-09.

183. See Altekar, *CGE*, pp. 79-80.

184. See *ibid.*, p. 78.

185. Compare *BMC,GD*, Pl. II, 9, with Pl II, 5.

186. *CGE*, Pl. II, 13.

187. *BMC,GD*, p. xxxiii.

188. Compare *ibid.*, Pl. II, 11 (reverse) with Pl. II, 14 (reverse of Tiger-slayer type of Samudragupta).

189. Compare *ibid.*, Pl. II, 11 (reverse) with Pl. V, 9 (reverse of Aśvamedha type of Samudragupta).

190. See Altekar, *CGE*, p. 80, and fn. 1.

191. See *PHAI*, p. 470, fn. 4.

192. *CGE*, p. 80.

193. *CII*, Vol. III, p. 27.

194. *BMC,GD*, p. xxxiv.

195. In the records of his successors, he is referred to as *Chaturudadhi-salilāsvāditayaśasaḥ.* Allan also suggests that Dharmāditya might have been yet another name of Samudragupta. *BMC,GD*, p. xxxiv. But cf. *JRAS*, 1909, p. 136, fn. 1.

196. *CGE*, p. 80.

197. *JNSI*, Vol. IX, Pl. VII, 3.

198. *GGCBH*, Pl. XXI, 6.

199. See *CGE*, p. 81.

200. The epithet is no doubt used for him in the Gaya (*SI*, Vol. I, p. 273) and Nalanda (*ibid.*, p. 271) Copper Plates, but they are regarded as spurious by most of the scholars, e.g., Sircar, *SI*, Vol. I, p. 271, fn. 4; p. 272, and fn. 11.

201. *CGE*, p. 81.

202. *Ibid.*

203. *Ibid.*

204. *CGE*, pp. 81-82.

205. Cf. R.D. Banerji, *The Age of the Imperial Gupta*, p. 9.

206. *CGE*, p. 82.

207. *ABORI*, Vol. IX, p. 83. Also Smith, *JRAS*, 1893, p. 87.

208. *CII*, Vol. III, No. 1.

209. See *JNSI*, Vol. V, Pt. I, p. 35, fn. 1.

210. *Ibld.*,. pp. 32-36.

211. Altekar regards it as "suspicious and late." See *JNSI*, Vol. V, Pt. I, p. 36, fn. 1. R.C. Majumdar regards the passage as a "Palpable modern forgery". See *VGA*,p. 133, fn. 2. See also *IHQ*, Vol. XX, p. 345.

212. Verses 700-705. See *JNSI*, Vol. V . Pt. II, p. 149, fn. 1.

213. *JNSI*, Vol. V, Pt. II, pp.149-150.

214. *Ibid.*, p. 150.

215. *Ibid.* Also *CGE*,'pp. 83-84.

215a. *CGE*, p. 84 .

216. *Infra.*

217. *Malaviya Commemoration Volume*, p. 189.

218. *CGE*, pp. 85-86.

219. *JNSI*, Vol. XII, p., 103, and Pl. IX.

220. *CGE*, p. 86.

221. *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, pp. 9-10.

222. *CGE*, p. 82.

223. R.C. Majumdar says, "We have, however, absolutely no evidence that Chandra-Gupta I ever came into conflict with the Scythian rulers, or lead any 'war of liberation'." *CA*, p. 5.

224. *CGE*, p. 87.

225. *Ibid.*, p. 80.

226. The conquest of eastern Mālavā is evidenced by the Eran Inscription of Samudragupta. *CII*, Vol. III, No. 2.

227. The *Prayāga Praśasti* and the Eran Inscription, both refer to the

troubled conditions in Magadha. See K.D. Bajpai, *Indian Numismatic Studies*, p. 136.

228. *Indian Numismatic Studies*, p. 136.

229. *Ibid.*, p. 135.

230. *Ibid.*, p. 137.

231. See G.S. Gai, *JOIB*, Vol. XVIII, No. 3, pp. 247 ff.

232. See the Mathura Inscription of Chandragupta II, which refers to him as *Tatparigṛihītena-Tatparigṛihīto. EI*, Vol. XXI, p. 7. Also, Poona Copper Plate Inscription of Prabhāvatīguptā, *EI*, Vol. XV, pp. 41 ff.

233. *Aripure chaparakalatrakāmukaṁ kāminīveṣaguptaścha Chandraguptaḥ Śakapatimaśātayaditi.* See *Harṣacharita.*

234. K.D. Bajpai, *Indian Numismatic Studies*, p. 137.

235. See *supra*, n.232.

236. Cf. Allan, *BMC,GD*, p. xliii, who says, "The very rare Aśvamedha type of his gold coinage (Pl. XII. 13, 14) is our sole evidence of his celebration of the horse-sacrifice." See also *PHAI*, p. 502; *VGA*, p. 173.

237. Cf. *CGE*, p. 200.

238. B.N. Mukherjee, *Art in Gupta and Post-Gupta Coinages*, p. 22, Pl. VII, 4.

239. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

240. See R.C. Majumdar, *VGA*, p. 174.

241. *CA*, p. 23, except the one towards the end of his reign, the exact nature of which is still not known. *Ibid.*, p. 24, and *VGA*, p. 175.

242. See *CGE*, p. 200, for the rarity of these coins.

243. *CGE*, p. 166; *BMC,GD*, p. lxxxix.

244. *CGE*, p. 201.

245. *Ibid.*

246. See *CGE*, p. 200.

247. This is Altekar's suggestion. See *CGE*, p. 200. But cf. Allan, *BMC,GD*, p. cxvi, and p. 68, who suggests *Jayati divaṁ Kumāra* ? and also *aśvamedha* between the feet of the horse on one specimen. See *ibid.*, p. cxvi, and p. 69, Pl. XII, 14.

248. Cf. Allan, *BMC,GD*, p. lxxxix, who says that the object in the left hand is uncertain, and absent on the Aśvamedha coins of Samudragupta.

249. Allan, *ibid.*, p. lxxxix, and p. 68, identifies it as a ceremonial spear. But cf. Altekar, *CGE*, p. 66.

250. *BMC,GD*, pp. 68-69, Pl. XII, 13, 14; *CGE*, pp. 201-202, Pl. XIII, 7, 8; *JRAS*, 1888, Pl. III, 1; *Art in Gupta and Post-Gupta Coinages*, Pl. VII, 2; *GGCBH*, Pl. XXX, 9, 10.

251. *BMC,GD*, p. lxxxix.

252. *GGCBH*, Pl. XXX, 11, 12; *CGE*, p. 202, Pl. XIII, 9, 10; *Art in Gupta and Post-Gupta Coinage*, Pl. VII, 3.

253. Allan , *BMC,GD*, p.xliii; also R.C. Majumdar, *CA*, p. 23.

254. See B.N. Mukherjee, *Art in Gupta and Post-Gupta Coinages*, p. 22.

255. *Ibid.*

256. *Ibid.*

257. *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 230.

258. See Altekar, *CGE*, p. 166.

259. *Ibid.*, pp. 166-167.

260. *Ibid.*, p. 167, fn. 1.

261. Altekar, *CGE*, p. 211.

262. *Ibid.*

263. *BMC,GD*, p. lxxvi.

264. *CGE*, p. 74.

265. *Prayāga Praśasti*, line 27, *CII*, Vol. III, No. 1.

266. See *supra*.

267. *CGE*, pp. 211-212, Pl . XIV, *GGCBH*, Pl. XXXI, 4

268. *CGE*, p. 212, says that the second and third letters of the legend, though doubtful, cannot be any thing other than *ma* and *ra* respectively.

269. *CGE*, p. 211.

270. *Ibid.*

271. *Ibid.*

272. *Ibid.*, Pl. III, 16.

273. For the description of the Lyrist type of Samudragupta, see *supra*.

274. *CGE*, p. 166.

275. *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. I, 1959, No. 1, p. 35.

276. *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. I, 1959, No. 1, p. 35.

277. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

278. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

279. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

280. *JNSI*, Vol. XXVI, Pt. I, pp. 107-109.

281. *Ibid.*, p. 107.

282. *Later Indo-Scythians*, p. 286, Pl. IX, 13.

283. *JNSI*, Vol. XXVI, Pt. I, p. 107.

284. *Ibid.*, pp. 107-109.

285. Altekar, *CGE*, p. 207.

286. See Sohoni, *JNSI*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 352-353, and 355, fig. C; also *JNSI*, Vol. XVIII, Pt. I, pp. 58-59.

287. Majumdar proposes to read this legend as *Mihirakula* (JNSI, Vol. XII, Pt. I, p. 72). But this reading is not tenable. The legend can be nothing but *Kumāraguptaḥ*. See *CGE*, p. 209, fn. 1. Also Alteker's note on Majumdar's view in *JNSI*, Vol. XII, Pt. I,

288. See *infra*.

289. *Proccedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1883, p. 144; *JRAS*, 1889, p. 109, Pl. III, 4; *BMC,GD*, p. 87, Pl. XV, 15; *JNSI*, Vol. X, Pt. II, pp. 116-117, Pl. VII, 1-7, 9; *GGCBH*, Pl. XXXI, 6-12; *CGE*, pp. 208-209, Pl. XIV, 1-3, For the enlargement of obverse and reverse, see *JNSI*, Vol. XXIII, Pl. XII, 1, 2.

290. *JNSI*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 346-347.

291. *JNSI*, Vol. XII, Pt. I, pp. 68-69.

292. *CGE*, p. 208.

293. *JNSI*, Vol. XXIII, p. 345.

294. *BMC,GD*, p. 87.

295. *Ibid.*, p. xcii.

296. Brown, *Coins of India*, p. 44; R.K. Mookerji, *The Gupta Empire*, pp. 86-87; etc.

297. *JNSI*, Vol. X, Pt. II, p. 115; also *CGE*, p. 207.

298. Vol. XXIII, Pl. XII, 2.

299. *JNSI*, Vol. XXIII, p. 347.

300. *JNSI*, Vol. XXVI, Pt. I, p. 19.

301. See *JNSI*, Vol. XXIII, Pl. XII, 2.

302. *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1883, p. 144.

303. *JNSI*, Vol. XVIII, Pt. I, p. 56.

304. That she is arguing is clear from the *vitarka mudrā* of her left hand.

305. The *Garuḍadhvaja* seems to appear on Gupta coins only with the king. See on Standard type of Samudragupta, *CGE*, p. 47; on Variety b of Kācha type, *ibid.*, p. 89; on Archer type of Chandragupta II, *ibid.*, pp. 93 ff.; on Archer type of Kumāragupta I, *ibid.*, pp. 169 ff.; on Archer type of Skandagupta, *ibid.*, p. 243; on King-and-Queen type of the same ruler, *ibid.*, p. 246; on Archer type of Ghaṭotkacha, *ibid.*, p. 264; on Archer type of Kumāragupta II, *ibid.*, p. 270; on Archer type of Budhagupta, *ibid.*, p. 273; on Archer type of Viṣṇugupta, *ibid.*, p. 277; on Archer type of Vainyagupta, *ibid.*, p. 280; on Archer type of Jayagupta, *ibid.*, p. 282.

306. *JRAS*, 1888, p. 107.

307. See Sohoni, *JNSI*, Vol. XVIII, Pt. I, p. 56; also Prashant Srivastava, *JNSI*, Vol. XLIX, p. 87.

308. *CGE*, p. 207.

309. See *JNSI*, Vol. XXIII, p. 355, fig. C.

310. Cf. Altekar, *CGE*, p. 207, who says, "he is holding a shield close to his torso, and so appears to have prominent breasts like a female." Against his holding a shield, it has been pointed out as to why he is holding a shield when his other hand is not holding any weapon, but is in the *vitarka mudrā*. See Sohoni, *JNSI*, Vol. XVIII, Pt. I, pp. 58-59.

311. *BMC,GD*, p. 87. Cf. R.K. Mookerji, *The Gupta Empire*, p. 89.

312. *BMC,GD*, p. xcii.

313. *Ibid.*, p. 87.

314. *BMC,GSKBI*, Pl. XXVIII, 24; *PMC*, Vol. I, Pl. XX, 7.

315. *Sachchidanand Sinha Commemoration Volume*, 1943, pp. 177-178; cf. K.K. Dasgupta, *IHQ*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 265-270.

316. *JNSI*, Vol. XVIII, Pt. I, pp. 56-63. Cf. Brajadeo Prasad Roy, *JNSI*, Vol. XXIV, Pt. II, pp. 164-166.

317. *JNSI*, Vol. XII, Pt. I, p. 69.

318. *Ibid.*

319. *CGE*, p. 209, fn. 2; also *JNSI*, Vol. XLIX, p. 86.

320. *JNSI*, Vol. XLIX, p. 86 .

321. *JNSI*, Vol. XII, Pt.I, pp. 72-73. Cf. Mirashi, *ibid.*, p.70.

322. E.g. *JNSI*, Vol. X, Pt. II, Pl. VII, 5,7.

323. Canto III, vv. 60-65.

324. Cf. Mirashi, *JNSI*, Vol. XII, Pt.I, p.70.

325. *CGE*, p. 209.

326. *Ibid.*, pp. 209-210.

327. *Ibid.*, p. 210.

328. *JNSI*, Vol. XLIX, p.87.

329. Cf. Chittaranjan Roy Choudhury, *IHQ*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 273-274.

330. Cf. Allan, *BMC,GD*, p. xcii, "In spite of the legend, which has been supposed to label the central figure, the latter can hardly be identified as Kumāragupta as it is utterly unlike any representation of him."

331. *GGCBH*, pp. cx-cxi; *Gupta Kālīna Mudrāen*, p. 146.

332. *BMC, GD*, Pl. II, 1-5.

333. *JNSI*, Vol. XLIX, pp. 87-88.

334. *Ibid.*, p. 87 .

335. D.C. Sircar, *SI*, Vol. I, p. 314, verse 6.

336. *Pitaridivamupete viplutāṁ vaṅśalakṣmīṁ/Bhujabalavijitāriryyaḥ pratiṣṭhāpya bhūyaḥ.*

337. *JNSI*, Vol. XLIX, p. 87. Cf. B.N. Mukherjee, *Art in Gupta and Post-Gupta Coinages*, p. 25.

338. To show that Kumāragupta I renounced the world, B.P. Sinha gives the evidence of *Kathāsaritasāgara* (Tawney, Penzer : IX, pp. 1-6; VI, p. 160) and of *Chandragarbha Pariprichchhā*, which relate an incident, which is regarded to refer to Skandagupta (K.P. Jayaswal, *Imperial History of India*, pp. 36-37) and Kumāragupta I. See *JNSI*, Vol. XVI, Pt. II, p. 212.

339. *JNSI*, Vol. XVI, Pt. II, pp. 212-214.

340. *Ibid.*, pp. 213-214.

341. *Ibid.*, p. 213.

342. *JNSI*, Vol. XXIII, p. 350.

343. *JNSI*, Vol. XVIII, Pt. I, pp. 57-63.

344. Canto XIII, vv. 21, 44, 45,46.

345. *JNSI*, Vol. XVIII, Pt. I, p. 61.

346. *JNSI*, Vol. XVIII, Pt. I, p. 63.

347. Cf. *supra*, n.305.

348. *JNSI*, Vol. XII, Pt. I, p. 70.

349. *JNSI*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 352-35

350. *Studies in Indian Coins*, p. 219, and fn.1.

351. *Ibid.*, p. 219

351a. Studies in Indian Coins, p.220.

351b. Ibid.

352. *Ibid.* Sircar informs us that in the *Amarakoṣa* (*Kṣatriya-varga*, VIII. 101) *patākā*, *vaijayantī*, *ketana*, and *dhvaja*, are regarded as synonymous words. As such, *patākā* in the marginal legend of the Apratigha type actually may be the *Garuḍadhvaja* seen on this type.

353. *Studies in Indian Coins*, p. 221.

354. Joshi identifies the central figure as Kumāragupta I, the female as his *agramahiṣī*, and the male figure on the left as Skandagupta. See *JNSI*, Vol. XXI, Pt. I, p. 35.

355. *JNSI*, Vol. XXI, Pt. I, p. 36.

356. *Ibid.*

357. *Ibid.*

358. *Ibid.*, pp. 71-72.

359. *Tadrajo=pratigham vidyat.* XII. 28.

360. *JNSI*, Vol. XXI, Pt. I, p. 72.

361. *JNSI*, Vol. XXI, Pt. I, p. 72.

362. *Ibid.*

363. *JNSI*, Vol. XXII , p. 180.

364. *JNSI*, Vol. XXIII, p. 354.

365. *Ibid.*, pp. 351-352.

366. *Ibid.*, p. 352.

367. *JNSI*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 352-353.

368. *Ibid.*, p. 354.

369. *Ibid.*, p. 353.

370. *Ibid.*, p. 354.

371. *Ibid.*, p. 351.

371a. *JNSI*, Vol. XXIV, Pt. II, p. 166.

372. *JNSI*, Vol. XXIV, Pt. II, p. 167.

373. *Ibid.*

374. *Svabhujajanitavīryo rājarājādhirājaḥ*, Junagarh Inscription of Skandagupta, line 2, verse 2, Sircar, *SI*, Vol. I, p. 308; *vyapetya sarvvāṁ manujendraputrān Lakṣmī svayaṁ yaṁ varayāṁchakāra*, Junagarh Inscription of Skandagupta, line 5, verse 5, *ibid.*, p. 309, and fn. 4; see also *JNSI*, Vol. XXIV, Pt. II, p. 167.

375. See *Prayāga Praśasti* of Samudragupta, Sircar, *SI*, Vol. I, p. 263, lines 7-8.

376. Sircar, *SI*, Vol. I, p. 346, lines, 4-7, Poona Copper Plate Inscription of Prabhāvatīguptā.

377. This is because the characters of the legend are of the western variety of the Gupta period Brāhmī script.

378. *JNSI*, Vol. XXVI, Pt. I, pp. 23, 24.

379. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

380. *A History of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 293, Cf. B.N. Mukherjee, *Art in Gupta and Post-Gupta Coinages*, p. 25.

381. "Numismatic Art" in *Comp. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. III, Pt. II,p.1419.

382. *Art in Gupta and Post-Gupta Coinages*, p. 25.

383. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

384. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

385. *Ibid.*

386. *Ibid.*

387. Cf. *supra.*

388. *JNSI*, Vol. XLIX, pp. 86-89.

389. We had earlier suggested that this male figure on the left cannot be that of Kumāragupta I, for he is holding the *Garuḍadhvaja*, although, according to the Indian tradition, the king cannot be shown bearing his own standard. See *JNSI*, Vol. XLIX, p. 88. But now it appears to us after a more careful study of the obverse of the Apratigha type that the male figure on the left is *not* holding the *Garuḍa* standard. (Cf. Sohoni, *JNSI*, Vol. XXIII, p. 353; also B.N. Mukherjee, *Art in Gupta and Post-Gupta Coinages*, p. 24). As such, there is greater likelihood of this figure's being that of Kumāragupta I.

390. *JNSI*, Vol. XLIX, p. 88.

391. *Ibid.*

392. *SI*, Vol. I, p. 309, fn. 4.

393. *JASB*, 1921, pp. 253 ff.

394. Cf. *JNSI*, XXIV, Pt. II, p. 167. See *supra* and n. 374.

395. See *Prayāga Praśasti* of Samudragupta, lines 7-8, *SI*, Vol. I, p. 263.

396. See Poona Copper Plate Inscription of Prabhāvatīguptā, lines 4-7, *SI*, Vol. I, p. 436.

397. *JNSI*, Vol. XLIX, p. 88.

398. Lines 6-7, *SI*, Vol. I, p. 321.

399. *JNSI*, Vol. XLIX, pp. 88-89.

400. *Ibid.*, p. 89.

401. *JNSI*, Vol. XLIX, p. 89.

402. *JNSI*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 346-347.

403. Alterkar, *GGCBH*, p. cxii.

SECTION III
VICTORY MEDALS

10

VICTORY MEDALS OF ANCIENT INDIA

Victory medals are coins usually of big size, struck by a monarch either after achieving a military success, or in anticipation of a victory. The Indo-Greek rulers are known to have struck several types of victory medals, all of them in the Attic standard.[1]

"POROS" MEDAL

There are certain decadrachms, usually associated with Alexander and his expedition to India, which have drawn the attention of the numismatists. They are generally referred to as "Poros" Medals. These decadrachms are of two types. The first type was first published by Gardner in 1887;[2] the second type by Barclay V. Head,[3] in 1932.

We now proceed to describe the coin of the first type, presently in the British Museum, and discovered at Khullum in Bokhara by A.W. Franks.[4]

TYPE 1

Obv. : Horseman, wearing conical helmet and cuirass, behind two warriors "retreating on an elephant"; lance, but it is not clear whether it is in the hand of the horseman, or one of the elephant-riders;[5] all within dotted circle.

Rev. : Male figure, wearing cuirass, cloak, and sword,

standing "three-quarter face towards l."; thunderbolt in r. hand; spear in l. hand; in left field, monogram[6].

Silver. Round. (Pl. XVI, 1).

The decadrachm of the second type appears to have been found in Babylonia.[7]

TYPE 2

Obv. : As the obverse of Type 1 ; but "lances are two in number, one in the hand of the elephant-rider, and other in the hand of the horseman."[8]

Rev. : As the reverse of Type 1; but Nike is shown "flying to crown the standing figure."[9]

Silver. Round.

The second type is cruder than the first in appearance and execution.[10]

Gardner, who first published this coin regarded the obverse as representing "some notable victory won by a Greek King of Bactria over the invading hordes of Yueh-chi in the second century B.C."[11] He assigns the medal to Bactria, and not to India, after considering the findspot of the coin, and the similarity of its art and fabric to the coins of the Antiochi,[12] and places the issue of the medal between B.C. 330 and B.C. 125.[13] He suggests that the medal might have been struck by Eukratides, or his son Heliokles.[14]

B.V. Head, however, comes forward with a very interesting suggestion. He concludes, "after a careful study of the fabric ... that it belongs to Alexander's own time, and that it records the historical event of his invasion of the Punjab in 326 B.C."[15] He suggests that the lance is in the hand of the rearmost of the two

elephant-riders, and regards the representation as depicting the retreat of Poros, and his pursuit by Taxiles, exactly as recorded by Arrian (v. 18).[16] Head is also inclined to see a picture of Alexander as Zeus on the reverse of the medal.[17] At another place,[18] he identifies even the horseman on the obverse as Alexander. Head is also of the view that the medal might have been struck by Taxiles,[19] at Takṣaśilā.[20] He also reads the name and royal epithet of Alexander, i.e.ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΧΑΝΔΡΟΣ, in the monogram in the left field on the reverse.[21]

The interpretation of Head has mostly been followed by the subsequent writers on the subject.[22] Gardner himself admits, "Looking for the first time at this extraordinary coin, or rather medal - for it is clearly a historical monument - every one will be tempted to exclaim 'Alexander and Porus'."[23]

The suggestion of Head that the horse-rider pursuing the two warriors on the elephant, depicted on the obverse, is Alexander himself, has been supported by Hill, who suggests this with some force on the basis of the sameness of the head-gear of "Alexander - Zeus" on the reverse with that of the horse-rider on the obverse.[24] But the account of the Battle of Hydaspes, as given by Arrian, does not contain any clear reference to Alexander himself pursuing Poros. There is, however, the account of Curtius of this battle, "(Poros) received nine wounds before and behind, and became so faint from the great loss of blood that the darts were dropped rather than flung from his feeble hands. But his elephant waxing furious though not yet wounded, kept charging the ranks of the enemy until the driver, perceiving the king's condition - his limbs failing him, his weapons dropping from his grasp, and his consciousness almost gone - turned the beast round and fled. Alexander pursued, but his horse being pierced with many wounds fainted under him.

Curtius now goes on to narrate that Alexander's horse sank under him, the necessity of changing his horse retarded his pursuit, and he asked the brother of Taxiles to take up the pursuit of Porus."[25]

J.N. Banerjea says that this passage provides literary support to Head's interpretation of the obverse device, by showing that Alexander did pursue Poros at one stage,[26] before asking the brother of Taxiles to take up the pursuit. He further adds that the obverse device, therefore, "portrays the first phase of the event."[27]

Banerjea admits that Curtius is generally regarded by scholars as far inferior to Arrian as an historical writer, but he says that Curtius' sources - Ptolemy, Kleitarchos, Timogenes - were good. "There is every likelihood that some such version was being partially followed by the die-cutter who was entrusted with the task of designing the device."[28] Banerjea thus supports Head's view that the medal "commemorates Alexander's expedition to the Punjab and his defeat of Porus",[29] the obverse of the medal depicting Alexander himself pursuing the retreating Poros.[30]

Head's suggestion, inspite of being very interesting and even logical has certain difficulties. As Macdonald points out,[31] Head's hypothesis that the medal was struck by Taxiles at Takṣaśilā is not supported by the findspot of the medal, which was discovered at Khullum in Bokhara.

As against Head's opinion that the medal might have been struck by Taxiles, it has been argued that it is "unlikely that the Indian king Taxiles would dare to strike such a coin even after the death of Alexander, not to say in his life time when it is well-known that the latter's generals after dividing the Macedonian empire between themselves, continued to strike money in their master's name for some time; they had courage enough to issue coins in their own name about a decade or so after his death."[32] This

argument, however, does not seem to be very convincing, for the medal does not bear the name of Taxiles, but of Alexander if Head's interpretation of the reverse monogram as ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΧΑΝΔΡΟΣ[33] is to be accepted. A much more logical objection to the view that the type was struck by Taxiles is that could he dare issue a type showing his much more powerful neighbour, Poros, in this humiliating position. It is an historical fact that after the Battle of Jhelum, Alexander had become very friendly towards Poros, and when the former departed from India, Poros had then more territories under him than he had before Alexander's arrival.

There is a view that the obverse scene depicts the battle of Alexander and the Achaemenian emperor Darius III Codomannos at Gaugamela.[34] It is argued that the standing figure on the reverse is being crowned by Nike on the second type of the medal, and this is indicative of "some real victory."[35] As such, "the scene fits with the decided battle of Gaugamela rather than with the undecided battle of Hydaspese."[36] It is further said that the dress of the standing figure is "Greek and Persian in combination."[37] The rearmost of the two elephant-riders "appears to be more Persian in look than Indian."[38] Finally, the only specimen representing the second type of this medal was found probably in Babylonia,[39] and the monogram, believed by a scholar to be a combination of the Greek letters B A B, appears to be an abbreviation of the name of Babylon, the city where the coin is minted.[40]

It has been suggested that all these point to the medal's "definite relation with Persia",[41] and that it was struck by Alexander himself at Babylon to commemorate his victory over the Achaemenians at Gaugamela.[42]

It is very difficult to interpret with any amount of certainty the obverse device of the "Poros" medals in the present state of our knowledge. However, of all the interpretations proposed so far, we find that that of Head is the most acceptable, that the medal was struck by Alexander to commemorate his victory in the Battle of Jhelum. It is also asserted, though without cogent reason, that the Battle of Jhelum was "undecided".[43]But it undoubtedly led to the acceptance of Alexander's suzerainty by Poros. Hence, Alexander had cause to commemorate the Battle on his medals.

TWENTY-STATER PIECE OF EUKRATIDES

The so far known largest gold coin issued by a Greek king [44] is a twenty-stater piece [45]struck by largest Eukratides [46]to commemorate his victory over the Euthydemids.[47]The coin, presently housed in the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris,[48]has a very bloody background. The coin was discovered by seven persons, and of these, five got killed in a fight for its possession. Of the remaining two, one went to London to sell it. He wanted £ 5,000 for the extraordinary piece, but a French numismatist finally bought it for 30,000 francs (= £ 1,200) for the Imperial Museum, Paris.[49]

We now describe the twenty-stater piece :

Obv.	:	In astragalus border, bust of king to r., diademed, and wearing smooth, crested helmet.
Rev.	:	Dioskuri - Castor and Pollox - seated on horses, charging to r.; holding palms; long levelled spears. Gr. legend : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ (above spear's ends) ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ (below).[50]

Gold. Round. (Pl. XVI, 2).

There is great controversy regarding the identification of the

monogram on the coin . According to Cunningham, the monogram is S23,[51] while Whitehead regards it to be S24.[52] In the coin illustrated by Lahiri[52a], the monogram is S25[52b], but he admits that in Sudha Narain's illustration,[53] it looks like S24.[54]

Cunningham suggested that the monogram on the coin might represent Peukolaotis, i.e., modern Charsadda.[55] Whitehead remarks that though the coin is found in the Oxus region, it bears a monogram not found on any Bactrian coin, but on coins struck by Menander, probably in Gandhāra. He suggests, "I am tempted to surmise that the medal was struck in India to commemorate Eukratides' Indian conquests."[56]

Tarn, however, puts forth a different explanation. According to him, Eukratides had come to India on the commission of the Seleukid king Antiochos IV.[57] His conquest of Bactria was celebrated by Antiochos IV by the review of his army at Daphne, by his Charisteria at Babylon, by his title of 'Saviour of Asia',[58] and by the issue of a new series of coins, in which he has the epithet NIKHΦOPOΣ.[59]

Eukratides celebrated his successes in Bactria by the issue of the twenty-stater piece, by founding the city of Eukratideia, and by issuing his second series of coins, on which he is BAΣIΛEΩΣ MEΓAΣ EYKPATIΔOY [60] Tarn places the issue of this piece in Bactria.[61] He bases his view on the style of the coin.[62]

Narain does not accept Tarn's suggestion that Eukratides had any relationship with Antiochos IV of Syria, or that he had been sent by the latter to recover the eastern parts of the empire of Alexander, which the Seleukids had lost to the Bactrians and the Parthians, as suggested by Tarn.[62a] Narain is of the view that "We cannot attribute to Antiochus IV plans and achievements which he had neither the statesmanship to envisage nor the resources to

carry out."[63] He supports Bevan's view[64]that the festival of Daphne was held due to "Antiochus' vainglorious love of pomp and ceremony."[65] Narain, on the authority of Justin, regards Eukratides as an upstart, who rose to power in Bactria itself, and with the help of his few soldiers, "expelled the reigning king".[66]

Whosoever Eukratides might have been, it is certain that the twenty-stater piece was issued by him to commemorate his victory over the Euthydemids. The victory medal might have been struck in Bactria, before Eukratides entered India, or he might have issued the medal in India itself. It is not certain how Demetrios died. He might have been killed in the battle with Eukratides,[67]or he might have died a natural death. If Eukratides had actually succeeded in killing Demetrios, his arch enemy, in battle, he might have issued the victory medal to commemorate this success.

DOUBLE-DECADRACHMS OF AMYNTAS

The discovery of the Qunduz hoard has brought to light five remarkable double-decadcrachms, the largest silver coins known "in any Greek series".[68] These coins, struck by Amyntas,[69] are of two type - "Zeus enthroned, holding Pallas", and "Demeter enthroned".

TYPE 1

Obv.	:	Within astragalus border, bust of king in smooth helmet to r.
Rev.	:	Zeus seated on high-backed throne; sceptre and palmbranch in l. hand; Athena-Pallas on oustretched r. hand. *Gr.* legend : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ (above) ΑΜΥΝΤΟΥ (below).[70]

Silver. Round. (Pl. XVI, 3).

There are, in all, two specimens of this type,[71] presently housed in the Kabul Museum.[72]

The deity on the hand of Zeus was formerly believed to be Nike.[73] But she was correctly identified as Pallas in 1923.[74] Thus, this type is unique in the whole range of Indo-Greek coinage in having Pallas instead of Nike on the hand of Zeus.[75] Lahiri, however, refers to the female deity as Athena-Nike.[76]

TYPE 2

Obv. : Within astragalus border, helmeted bust of king, as on Type 1.

Type 1.

Rev. : Demeter, seated on high-backed throne, cornucopiae in l. hand; r. hand outstretched. *Gr.* legend : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ (above) ΑΜΥΝΤΟΥ (below).[77]

Silver. Round. (Pl. XVI, 4).

There are three existing specimens of this type,[78] presently in the Kabul Museum Collection.[79]

The extraordinary size of these pieces, as well as the title ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ, "the Conqueror", taken by Amyntas on these coins, shows beyond doubt that they are victory medals struck to commemorate some notable military success achieved by Amyntas. What was this military success ?

Tarn is of the opinion that Amyntas might have been the Saka Maues' *epistates* (city-governor) at Alexandria, and revolted against him,[80] or that the Greek prince led a Greek rising against Maues, and expelled his governor from Alexandria,[81] probably after the death of Maues.[82] This, in our view, was quite a notable

military achievement, and Amyntas might have struck these two types of double-decadrachms to commemorate the re-establishment of Greek power in Alexandria.

Narain is of the view that some time after the death of Antialkidas, the father of Amyntas, Apollodotos was reigning supreme over all the kingdom of Antialkidas, except for the regions north of the Hindu Kush, where Theophilos might have established his power.[83] But Amyntas succeeded in establishing his power over his father's lost kingdom after the death of Apollodotos, when the latter's kingdom had begun to disintegrate as a result of the Śaka invasion.[84] Theophilos might also have been overthrown north of the Hindu Kush.[85] Narain suggests that some sub-kings of Apollodotos, like Peukolaos, might have survived their overlord, and governed parts of his kingdom after his death. Peukolaos, too, might have been superseded by Amyntas.[86] Narain says, "The overthrow of Theophilus and Peukolaus and the recovery of parts of Antialkidas' kingdom led to the re-establishment of the power of Amyntas, who probably struck these medallions in order to commemorate his achievement."[87] He further says that "if Theophilus' title 'Autocrator' indicates his rebellion, that of Amyntas (i.e., Nikator) probably shows his triumph over the rebel; both these epithets are unique in the Indo-Greek series."[88]

The type "Zeus enthroned, holding out Pallas" is of additional interest. The "Enthroned Zeus" connects Amyntas with the family of Eukratides,[89] while Pallas, shown here on the hand of Zeus, is connected with the coins of Menander, and some of his successors.[90] On this basis, Narain suggests probably, the last descendants of Eukratides I and of Menander or Antimachos I formed an alliance against the Śaka, Pahlava, and Yueh-chih menace.[91] He further

suggests that the marriage of Hermaios with Kalliope might have been the result of such an alliance, as suggested by Cunningham.[92] This may be correct.[93]

We are of the opinion that the double-decadrachms of the type "Enthroned Zeus, holding out Pallas", of Amyntas denote not only the victory of this king over some sub-king of Apollodotos, from whom he had wrested the former kingdom of Antialkidas,[94] but also the alliance he had formed with some successor of Apollodotos,[95] against the Śaka, Pahlava, and Yueh-chih menace. The successor of Apollodotos who entered into an alliance with Amyntas might be any one of the three kings, Zoilos II, Dionysios, Apollophanes. The greater possibility, however, seem to be that this ally was either Zoilos II, or Apollophanes, as some of their coins depcit Pallas on the reverse.[95]

The rival Greek facilities seem to have recognised that the danger posed by the nomadic invaders, and made an effort to unite their resources to combat the common danger. The alliance between Amyntas and some successor of Apollodotos seems to be a step in that direction. Another step seems to be the marriage of Hermaios, the son of Amyntas,[97] with Kalliope, the daughter of Hippostratos.[98] This Hippostratos is believed to be a descendant of Antimachos I[99] As such, the statement of Narain that "the last descendants of Eucratides I and the successors of Menander or Antimachus I joined hands against the all-surrounding danger of the Śakas, the Pahlavas, and the Yueh-chihs"[100] may be modified as "the last descendants of Eucratides I and the successors of Menander and Antimachus I joined hands against the all-surrounding danger of the Śakas, the Pahlavas, and the Yueh-chihs".

COINS WITH NAVAL SYMBOLISM

There are certain coin-types, both of the Indo-Greeks and the Scytho-Parthians, showing naval symbolism on either one, or both, of their sides. The naval symbolism on the coin(s) of a ruler is generally taken to denote some military victory achieved by him through the use of the navy[101]. This seems to be true about the ruler who introduced this type. But it is doubtful if the later rulers who issued this type had also achieved some naval victory. They might simply be imitating an existing coin type.[102] The Indo-Greek rulers whose coins show naval symbolism are Antimachos Theos,[103] Nikias,[104] and Hippostratos.[105]

POSEIDON TYPE OF ANTIMACHOS THEOS

There is a coin-type of Antimachos Theos, bearing the figure of Poseidon, the Greek god of the sea, on the reverse.

Obv. : Within astragalus, or pellet, border, bust of king; diademed; wearing kausia, to r.

Rev. : Bearded Poseidon; diademed; standing, facing; wearing himation; in r. hand, long trident; palm bound with fillet under l. arm *Gr.* legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΘΕΟΥ (r.) ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ (l.).[106]

Silver. Round. (PL. XII, 7.)

On the basis of this type of Antimachos Theos, it has been suggested that Antimachos achieved some naval victory on the Indus, "or one of its great tributaries".[107] The victory could not have been won on the open sea, as the type at first sight, might suggest for the rule of Antimachos did not extend to the sea : "his coins are found both on the north and the south of the Caucasus, but never south of the Panjab."[108] As such, the victory must have

been won on some river, if the type, indeed, alludes to a naval victory won by Antimachos.

Tarn is, however, of the view that Antimachos Theos "had no connection with India",[109] and as such, the naval battle was "certainly not won on the Indus."[110] He also says that this victory could not have been achieved on the Caspian,[111] or on the Hamun lake,[112] and suggests that Antimachos Theos could only have won this victory on the river Oxus.[113]

According to R. Rochette, the presence of Poseidon might refer to the assistance given by Antimachos to Antiochos Epiphanes of Syria in Egypt.[114] While Gardner, Rapson and other scholars do not mention that against whom this naval battle was fought, Tarn suggests that the victory commemorated by this coin-type of Antimachos Theos was won against the Scythian Massagetae. He says that one tribe of the Massagetae, the Apasiacae, (= Apa-śaka, 'Water-Sacas') are said to have lived "about the middle reaches of the Oxus."[115]

R. Burn has, however, "raised the question why Poseidon should be connected at all with naval battle on rivers; the cult of Poseidon in inland towns like Mantinea and Rhaucus had nothing to do with naval victories."[116] In the third and second centuries B.C., there are also examples of kings of mountainous, steppe, and desert regions issuing coins bearing the figure of Poseidon.[117] Trever is of the view that during the third-second centuries B.C., Poseidon was not only the god of the sea, but also of springs and rivers, "the fructifier and nourisher of plants", and also the creator and protector of horses.[118]

It might also be mentioned here that it has been pointed out that the name of Poseidon seems to be derived from the root meaning of "to be master", and as such, it is not "impossible that originally

Poseidon was the sovereign master of the entire earth."[119] It has also been suggested that as he was the lord of the sea, and even lakes and rivers, he was, in a sense, the master of the earth, which was sustained by his water.[120]

Narain supports the idea of Burn[121] and he is of the opinion that during that period, "the presence of a god on a coin was not necessarily connected with great events, but represented the patron deity of the king or his family,"[122]

It is, however, difficult to accept this contention of Burn and Narain, especially in connection with Antimachos Theos, for a coin-type of this ruler shows Nike, the Greek goddess of victory, standing on the prow of a ship,[123] almost certainly alluding to a naval victory, thereby corroborating the theory that the Poseidon type of Antimachos Theos was issued to commemorate a naval victory achieved by this king, as suggested by Gardner,[124] Rapson,[125] Tarn,[126] and others.

The "Nike on prow of ship" type of Antimachos Theos may now be described.

Obv. : Figure of elephant to r.

Rev. : "Nike to left, holding wreath and palm, standing on prow of ship." *Gr.* legend : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΘΕΟΥ (r.). ANTIMAXOY(l.).[127]

Copper. Round. (Pl. XII, 8).

It has previously been pointed out by Gardner[128] and Rapson[129] also that "Nike standing on prow of ship" type of Antimachos Theos also alluded to a naval victory achieved by this king.

Therefore, the Poseidon type and the "Nike standing on prow of ship" type of Antimachos Theos refer to a naval victory achieved by him.

POSEIDON TYPE OF NIKIAS

The same controversy, whether the coin-type refers to a naval victory or not, exists about the Poseidon type of Nikias as well. The type may be described as follows :

Obv.	:	Bearded head of Poseidon to r.; trident on shoulder. *Gr.* legend :ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (l.) ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (top) ΝΙΚΙΟΥ(r.).
Rev.	:	"Dolphin twined round anchor." *Kh.* legend : *Maharajasa* (r.) *tratarasa* (top) *Nikiasa* (l.).[130]

Copper. Square. (Pl. XII, 9.).

Whitehead is of the view that the "type is thoroughly marine."[131] Tarn suggested that if Nikias was a descendant of Antimachos Theos, through Antimachos Nikephoros, it is quite possible that he was only copying the Poseidon type of Antimachos Theos.[132] This view of Tarn has the support of Narain, who finds this suggestion of Tarn as "more probable".[133] But Tarn has himself pointed out that it is very doubtful that Nikias copied the type of Antimachos Theos, because the two were "far too remote in both time and place, and moreover, the two type are very different."[134] While Antimachos Theos depicted a full-length figure of Poseidon, Nikias depicted only the head of the deity.[135]

Tarn's alternative suggestion is that the head of Poseidon and trident occurring on this type of Nikias "must have its usual meaning on Greek coins : he had defeated a Saca fleet on the Jhelum."[136] Tarn finds corroboration of this theory in the dolphin twined round anchor on the reverse of this type. This symbol has been interpreted to mean "prosperous voyage" in the West, or rather perhaps in Phoenician art, and on the type of Nikias "the symbol meant that his victorious fleet had had a 'victorious voyage'."[137]

Tarn further suggests that Nikias achieved this naval victory against the Śakas on the Jhelum. He says that the defeated Śaka ruler might have been Maues, who is not known to have ruled east of the river Jhelum. His fleet was defeated when it was trying "to open a way up the Jhelum to Bucephala as it had opened a way up the Indus to Taxila."[138] This victory of Nikias was followed by a period of peace between the Greeks and the Śakas. Tarn is of the view that as this cessation of hostilities on the part of the Śakas could not have been due to one reverse suffered by the mighty Śakas, "it may imply Maues' death."[139]

Narain, while once again emphasizing "the doubtful connexion of Poseidon with naval victories", [140] says that "it does not seem likely that a naval engagement could have taken place on the Jhelum, in view of the speed of its current and the absence of material for building boats except in its upper reaches."[141] Burn has also pointed out that there is no record of any naval battle on any of the three rivers above Multan in the history of the next two thousand years.[142]

There must, however, have been some reason behind the use of Poseidon by Nikias after Antimachos Theos, especially when it is noticed that this type was not used by any Indo-Greek king in the long interval between Antimachos Theos and Nikias.[143] As such, the suggestion of Tarn, that the Poseidon type of Nikias refers to a naval victory achieved by that king, might not be totally baseless.

TRITON TYPE OF HIPPOSTRATOS

Hippostratos issued a coin-type with naval symbolism. First, we describe the coin-type.

Obv. : "Triton, facing, his body ending in fish's tails;

holds dolphin and rudder." *Gr.* legend : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (l.) ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (top) ΙΠΠΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ (r.).

Rev. : City-goddess, turreted, standing to l.: "wearing modius"; cornucopiae[144] in l. hand; r. hand extended forward.[145]

Copper. Square. (Pl. XIII, 1).

Tarn is of the view that the city-goddess depicted on the reverse of this type can only be the goddess of the city of Bucephala, which was "doubtless" the capital of Hippostratos.[146]

Tarn suggests that the naval symbolism on this type of Hippostratos refers to the same naval victory as that celebrated on the Poseidon type of Nikias.[147] He is of the view that Hippostratos and Nikias might have been father and son, and that Nikias was a sub-king or associate of his father, Hippostratos.[148] He further suggests that Nikias was "actually in command of the joint fleet" that defeated the Śakas, who, most probably, were led by Maues.[149] Tarn says that this victory was of great importance to Hippostratos, who assumed the title of "Great King",[150] which was not assumed on his coinage by any Greek king in the Further East before him except Eukratides.[151]

Narain has, however, shown that Nikias could not possibly be placed after Hippostratos.[151a] He himself regards Hippostratos as the successor of Nikias.[152] As such, if Tarn is correct in his conjecture that the Poseidon type of Nikias and the Triton type of Hippostratos refer to the same naval victory, at the time of this victory, it was Hippostratos who was serving under Nikias as a sub-king or associate, and not vice-versa, as suggested by Tarn.[153]

POSEIDON TYPES OF MAUES

The Scytho-Parthian ruler, Maues, is known to have struck at least four types of coins bearing the figure of the sea-god, Poseidon. We shall describe the coin-types.

TYPE 1

Obv. : Poseidon, standing facing; clad in himation; trident in 1. hand; r. hand on hip;[154] "trampling on a river god with r. foot."[155] *Gr.* legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΜΑΥΟΥ.

Rev. : Female figure, standing, facing between two vines;[156] dressed in chiton and himation; both her hands grasping the two vines around her. Kh. legend : *Rajatirajasa mahatasa Moasa.*[157]

Copper. Square. (Pl. XIII, 2).

TYPE 2

Obv. : Poseidon, standing facing, trident in l. hand; hurling thunderbolt with r. hand at a small figure to r. "which clasps an aplustre, or poop ornament of a boat"; r. foot of the sea-god resting on a small, radiate rivergod. *Gr.* legend : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΜΑΥΟΥ.

Rev. : Female figure, standing, facing, between two vines, as on Type 1. *Kh.* legend : *Rajatirajasa mahatasa Moasa.*[158]

Copper. Square. (Pl. XIII, 3).

TYPE 3

Obv. : Poseidon, standing, facing, as on Type 2. *Gr.* legend : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΜΑΥΟΥ.

Rev. : "*Female standing* to front, grasping vine with l. hand, and extending r. hand to small figure advancing with outstretched arms on left." Kh. legend : *Rajatirajasa mahatasa Moasa.*[159]

Copper. Square. (Pl. XIII. 4).

TYPE 4

Obv. : Poseidon striding l.; holding an object (aplustre or palm-branch ?) in l. hand; hurling thunderbolt with r. hand at the river-god,[160] leaping up, and clinging to the object in Poseidon's l. hand. *Gr.* legend : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΜΑΥΟΥ.

Rev. : Female figure, standing, facing; dressed in chiton and himation; grasping with both hands at the two vines, one on either of her two sides.[161]

Copper. Square. (Pl. XIII, 5).

The female figure on the reverse of the Poseidon type coins of Maues has been identified by Gardner as Maenad.[162] Whitehead identifies her as Bacchante.[163] Cunningham suggests that the tall figure "perhaps represents India."[164] Marshall is, however, of the view that the female figure might be that of a Yakṣī.[165]

These types of Maues depicting Poseidon trampling upon a river-god, have been taken by Raoul Rochette[166] to refer to a successful passage of the river Indus by Maues. This view of Rochette has been supported by Cunningham.[167]

Tarn is also of the opinion that the Poseidon type coins of Maues commemorate his naval victory over a Greek fleet on the Indus, and that this naval victory, "gave him control of the river and opened the way to Taxila."[168] He says that this victory of

Maues over the Greek fleet "must have been a decisive event, as it is the event which Maues celebrated on his coins."[169]

Marshall, however, opines that if these coins celebrate Maues' victory on the Indus, which opened the way to Takṣaśilā, it would have been commemorated on the early coins of Maues, soon after his occupation of Takṣaśilā, rather than on his later coins, when he had become 'great king of kings', the title used for Maues on all the Poseidon types of his coins.[170] As such, Marshall suggests that these Poseidon coins commemorate Maues' victory "on the upper Indus when Maues was advancing across the river to the attack of Gandhāra".[171] His alternative suggestion is that the naval battle referred to on these coins was fought on the Jhelum against the eastern Greeks, and is the same naval engagement commemorated on the Poseidon type coins of the Indo-Greek Nikias, with "both sides as has not infrequently happened, claiming the victory."[172] Thus, Marshall would have us believe that the battle on the Jhelum was an indecisive one, with neither side actually gaining victory, and both sides claiming it.[173]But we would like to point out here that, as we have shown earlier,[174] the coins of Maues with the title of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΣ were issued by him earlier than the coins with the simple title of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. As such, the naval victory gained by Maues is actually commemorated on his earlier coins with the title of 'Great King of Kings', and the naval victory must have been gained by him in the early stages of his reign. Therefore, there is greater likelihood of this naval engagement having taken place on the Indus as suggested by Raoul Rochette, Cunningham, and Tarn, than on the Jhelum as suggested by Marshall.

POSEIDON TYPES OF AZES

Azes was another Scytho-Parthian ruler who issued Poseidon type of coins - one type in silver; another in copper.

TYPE 1

Obv. : King on horseback to r.; whip in r. hand; bow. *Gr.* legend : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΟΥ.

Rev. : Poseidon, walking to r.; long trident in l. hand; r. hand outstretched. Kh. legend : *Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa.*[175]

Silver. Round. (Pl. XIII, 6.)

TYPE 2

Obv. : Poseidon, standing to front;[176] clad in himation; long trident in l. hand; r. hand placed on hip; "trampling on river-god with right foot." *Gr.* legend : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΟΥ.

Rev. : Female figure, standing, facing, dressed in chiton and himation; holds in each hand a vine-branch. *Kh.* legend : *Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa.*[177]

Copper. Square. (Pl. XIII, 7).

As Azes I is known have succeeded Maues in India, it might be suggested that his Poseidon types were copies of the Poseidon types of coins of Maues.[178] But Tarn is of the view that the Poseidon coin-types of Azes I commemorate the victory of the Śaka fleet over the Indo-Greeks on the river Jhelum. His contention is that the Śaka fleet had earlier been defeated by the joint-fleet of Nikias and Hippostratos on the river Jhelum,[179] and that on the Poseidon types of his coins, Azes I is celebrating his naval victory over the Indo-Greeks, the Śaka fleet having "avenged its previous defeat on the Jhelum."[180] This naval victory gave Azes the control

of the river Jhelum, and provided him with a crossing.[181]

As the Poseidon trampling upon the river-god" type of Azes is restruck on some coins of Hippostratos,[182] and as the monograms of all the moneyers of Hippostratos appear on the coins of Azes,[183] it is generally believed that the Indo-Greek ruler defeated by Azes was Hippostratos.[184] Tarn also suggests that these facts mark "the end of the kingdoms of Hippostratus and Nicias."[185]

TIGER-SLAYER TYPE OF SAMUDRAGUPTA

The Imperial Gupta ruler, Samudragupta, is known to have struck a coin-type on which the king is shown slaying a tiger. The Tiger-slayer type of this ruler is, however, very rare; indeed, it is one of the rarest types of Samudragupta.[186] The Tiger-slayer type of this ruler can be divided into two varieties on the basis of the reverse legend.[187] The two varieties of this type shall now be described.

Var. a.

Obv. : King standing to l.; wearing turban, short jacket, close-fitting *dhotī*; usual ornaments - necklace, earrings, armlets; tramples on a tiger attacking him from l.; the tiger falls back as it is shot by the king with bow in his r. hand; l. hand stretching bowstring back behind the ear; behind tiger, standard surmounted by crescent and decorated with fillets.[188] Circular legend in Brāhmī : *Vyāghraparākramaḥ*.

Rev. : Goddess standing to l. on a *makara*; wearing *sārī*, close-fitting bodice; usual ornaments - necklace, earrings, anklets, armlets; full-blown lotus in l.

hand; r. hand empty and outstretched; on l., crescent-topped standard, bound with fillet; border of dots. Brāhmī legend : *Vyāghraparākramaḥ.*[189]

Gold. Round. (Pl. XIII, 8).

Var. b.

Obv. : King slaying tiger as on Variety a. Brāhmī legend: *Vyāghraparākramaḥ.*

Rev. : *Makaravāhinī* goddess, as on Variety a. Brāhmī legend : *Rājā Samudraguptaḥ.*[190]

Gold. Round. (Pl. XIII, 9).

There is some controversy regarding the identification of the goddess on the reverse of this type. On the basis of the aquatic mount (*makara*) of the goddess, Smith suggested that she is the wife of Varuṇa, the god being suggested by the name of Samudragupta. As an alternative identification, he suggested that she might be Rati, the consort of Kāmadeva, as her mount is also *makara* or a kind of fish.[191] The *makara* is also the mount of the river-goddess, Gaṅgā, and the *makara-vāhinī* goddess on the reverse of the Tiger-slayer type of Samudragupta has been identified with Gaṅgā by Allan,[192] Altekar,[193] H.C. Rayachaudhuri,[194] and others. B.N. Mukherjee, however, identifies the goddess as "Yamunā (or Gaṅgā ?)."[195] The identification of the river-goddess with Gaṅgā seems to be more likely because of her mount, the *makara*. She undoubtedly holds a lotus in her hand, but, as Altekar points out, "it appears that it had not been exclusively associated with Lakshmī during this period."[196]

Altekar also points out that as the figure of the goddess on the reverse of this type resembles that of the queen on the Aśvamedha type of this ruler,[197] and as the symbol on the reverse is conspicuous

by its absence on both these types, the two were probably contemporary.[198] If this is correct, the Tiger-slayer type, too, was issued quite late in the reign of Samudragupta.[199]

Rājā Samudraguptaḥ, the reverse legend of Variety b of the Tiger-slayer type accords no imperial title to Samudragupta. This led Smith to speculate that this type was issued by Samudragupta during the life-time of his father, Chandragupta I.[200] Jayaswal suggested that the Vākāṭaka Pravarasena I reduced the Guptas to the position of feudatories for a short period of time, and that the Tiger-slayer type of Samudragupta was issued during this period.[201] Altekar, however, rightly does not accept these suggestions of Smith and Jayaswal. He says that Samudragupta is given the simple title of *Rājā* on the reverse because "the numismatic convention prescribed only a short legend on that side."[202] The Swordsman type of Kumāragupta I bears the simple legend *Śrī Kumāraguptaḥ* on the reverse.[203] Altekar queries, "Are we therefore to conclude that he was not even a feudatory when the type was issued ?"[204] He also says that there can be no doubt that the Tiger-slayer type of Samudragupta was issued late in the reign of that ruler.[205]

R.K. Mookerji has suggested that the tiger on the Tiger-slayer type of Samudragupta "recalls Samudragupta's conquest of the Gangetic Valley."[206] He finds confirmation of this view in the appearance of the figure of Gaṅgā on the reverse of this coin-type. Therefore, according to Mookerji, the Tiger-slayer type of Samudragupta commemorates his conquest of the Gaṅgā Valley;[207] the tiger of the Gaṅgā Valley providing sport for its conqueror, Samudragupta.[208] As such, according to this view, the coins of the Tiger-slayer type would become victory medals struck by him.

Commenting on this suggestion of Mookerji, Altekar[209] says that the Prayāga *Praśasti* describes Samudragupta's conquest of the Gaṅgā Valley very eloquently. If the Tiger-slayer type of Samudragupta commemorated his conquest of the Gaṅgā Valley, one would expect the coins of this type to be fairly common. But, as Allan remarks, "The rarest of Samudragupta's coins are of the Tiger Type."[210] Altekar also remarks that Kumāragupta I also issued coins of the Tiger-slayer type, and on that type, it is not associated with Gaṅgā on the reverse.[211] The scholar suggests that the Tiger-slayer type of Samudragupta proclaims his hobby, and shows that he is fond of hunting.[212]

The view of H.C. Raychaudhuri is that the tiger and the *makaravāhinī* river-goddess (Gaṅgā) on the Tiger-slayer type of Samudragupta "may indicate that the sway of Samudragupta spread from the Ganges valley to be realm of the 'Tiger King' in Mahākāntāra."[213]

The Tiger-slayer type of Samudragupta could be a victory medal commemorating his conquest of the Gaṅgā Valley. It is also likely that it just depicts the king engaged in his favourite hobby, tiger-hunting. The coin-type might even be indicating the extent of Samudragupta's rule from the Gaṅgā Valley to Mahākāntāra. But the occurrence of the tiger and the river-goddess, Gaṅgā, renders the suggestion of R.K. Mookerji more acceptable.[214]

Artistically, the Tiger-slayer type of Samudragupta is of high merit. The scene is depicted very effectively. The posture of the king is natural, graceful and yet, energetic. The body of the tiger is muscular and graceful. The type shows no foreign influence.[215] The representation of the goddess, as stated earlier,[216] is very graceful.

LION-SLAYER OF CHANDRAGUPTA II

The Lion-slayer type[217] of the Imperial Gupta ruler, Chandragupta II, though not very rare, is of the great artistic merit.[218] These coins show great variety in representing the scene of Chandragupta II hunting a lion.[219]

As Chandragupta II is shown hunting a lion, R.K. Mookerji has suggested that the Lion-slayer type refers to the conquest of Kathiawar by Chandragupta II; "the conquest of a territory which is known as the habitat of the lion to this day."[220] Thus, the Lion-slayer type of Chandragupta II appears to be a victory medal commemorating his conquest of Western Mālavā, and Saurāṣṭra or Kathiawar.[221]

The reverse of the Lion-slayer type has the figure of goddess seated on a lion. H.C. Raychaudhuri is of the opinion that the appearance of *Siṁhavāhinī Devī* (Durgā or Pārvatī, *Vindhyavāsinī* or *Haimāvatī*) "may point to the extension of the Gupta dominions to the Vindhya and the Himavat."[222]

The classification of the Lion-slayer type of Chandragupta II is not free from difficulties. Smith classified the type according to the position of the king and the lion on the obverse, and suggested three classes - Lion-combatant, Lion-trampler, and Lion-retreating[223] But the view of Allan is that Smith's Lion-tampler and Lion-combatant classes are very similary as regards the attitude of the king, and the circular Brāhmī legend on the obverse, and as such, they cannot be regarded as two distinct types.[224] He himself suggests three classes of this type on the basis of the obverse legend, with a fourth class comprising the unique coin on which the king is shown slaying the lion with a sword.[225] His Class I has the obverse legend, *Narendrachandraḥ prathita . . . divaṁ jayatyajeyȯ bhuvi siṁhavikramaḥ*;[226] Class II has

Narendrasiṁha-Chandraguptaḥ pṛithivīm jitvā divaṁ jayati;[227] Class III has *Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Chandraguptaḥ.*[228]

R.K. Mookerji gives six different ways in which the lion-hunting scene is depicted on the Lion-slayer type of Chandragupta II.[229] These are "King to l. shooting with bow at lion which falls backwards and trampling on lion with one foot"; "King to l. shooting lion as described above but *not* trampling on it"; "King shooting lion which falls back from its spring"; "King with l. foot on back of lion which retreats with head turned back, shooting at it with bow in l. hand"; "Lion on l. retreating"; and "King standing r. with l. foot on lion which retreats with head turned snapping at the King as he strikes at it with sword in uplifted r. hand."[230]

Altekar finds the classification proposed by Smith as "fairly satisfactory", and says that Allan's classification is not quite satisfactory, as most of the coins of this type have one and the same legend - *Narendrachandraḥ prathitaraṇo raṇe jayatyajeyo bhuvi siṁhavikramaḥ*, and hence, fall in the same class.[231] Here, we have followed the classification suggested by Smith and Altekar, with a slight modification. We are placing the unique coin on which the king is slaying the lion with a sword as the fourth class of the Lion-slayer type of Chadragupta II.

We shall now describe the different classes of the Lion-slayer type Chandragupta II.

CLASS I *(Lion-Combatant)*

Obv. : King standing l.[232] or r.[233] and shooting an arrow at the lion to l.,[234] or r.;[235] bow in l.,[236] or r.[237] hand, with the other hand stretching the bow-string in most cases.[238] King almost touching the lion, but no trampling upon it. He wears waist-cloth and

sash; coat in some cases;[239]a close-fitting head-dress on some specimens.[240] Circular Brāhmī legend : *Narendrachandraḥ prathitaraṇo raṇe jayatyajeyo bhuvi siṁhavikramaḥ.* In some cases, *Chandra* in field.[241]

Rev. : Goddess, facing seated on lion to r. ; usually a noose in outstreched r.[242] hand lotus in 1. hand. Brāhmī legend : *Siṁhavikramaḥ.*[243]

Gold. Round. (Pl. XIV, 1,2).

As seen in the above description, the class has a number of varieties.,[244] The king, when he stands to left, holds the bow in his right hand, and draws back the bow-string with his left hand. This occurs on too many coins to be regarded as a mistake of the engraver of the dies. Allan suggests that it is probable that the king is purposely represented as ambidextrous.[245]

Class II, the Lion-trampler class, has the largest number of varieties among the various classes of the Lion-slayer type of Chandragupta II.[246]

CLASS II (*Lion-Trampler*)

Obv. : King standing to r.,[247]or l;.,[248]dressed in *dhotī* and sash; coat in some cases;[249]also turban in some cases;[250]tramples upon a lion in the belly by one foot, while shooting an arrow at the animal with a bow held in the l.,[251] or r.[252]hand, the other hand stretching the string of the bow, as in Class I. Circular Brāhmī legend : *Narendrachandraḥ prathitaraṇo raṇe jayatyajeyo bhuvi siṁhavikramaḥ,*[253] or *Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Chandraguptaḥ,*[254]or *Devaśri-Mahārājādhirāja-*

Śrī-Chandraguptaḥ,[255] or *Narendrasiṁhaḥ Chandraguptaḥ prithivīṁ jitvā divaṁ jayati.*[256]

Rev. : Goddess, nimbate, seated on lion couchant,[257] or walking to r.,[258] or l.;[259] noose, lotus, or cornucopiae in her hands;[260] in some cases, her l. hand is empty and hanging by her side;[261] on some specimens, r. hand is opened out and empty.[262] Brāhmī legend : *Siṁhavikramaḥ.*[263]

Gold. Round. (Pl. XIV, 3-7).

Class III, the Lion-retreating class of the Lion-slayer type of Chandragupta II, also has several varieties.[264]

CLASS III *(Lion-Retreating)*

Obv. : King standing l.,[265] or r.,[266] wearing waist-cloth and usual ornaments; holding bow in r. hand and arrow in l. in some cases;[267] sometimes shooting an arrow at the beast;[268] or merely looking at it on some specimens.[269] Circular Brāhmī legend : *Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Chandraguptaḥ*,[270] or *Devaśrī-Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Chandraguptaḥ*,[271] or *Narendrachandraḥ* etc.[272]

Rev. : Goddess seated facing on lion couchant,[273] or walking;[274] noose in her r. hand; lotus in l. Brāhmī legend : *Siṁhavikramaḥ*, with honorific prefix, *Śrī* on some specimens.[275]

Gold. Round. (Pl. XIV, 8,9; Pl. XV, 1).

Class IV, the King slaying lion with sword class, is represented by a single specimen, presently housed in the *State Museum*, Lucknow.[276]

CLASS IV (*King slaying lion with sword*)

Obv. : King standing to r.; holding in r. hand sword, with which he is attacking the lion in his front; the beast is retreating, "but also snapping at the king, while doing so";[277] l. foot of king placed on the back of the retreating beast. Circular Brāhmī legend : *Narendrachandra prathata ra* ..., standing for *Narendrachandraḥ prathitaraṇo raṇe jayatyajeyo bhuvi siṁhavikramaḥ.*

Rev. : Goddess, seated facing on lion couchant to r.; both her legs hanging down; noose[278] in r. hand; lotus in l. hand; both hands also outstretched. Brāhmī legend : *Siṁhavikrama.*[279]

Gold. Round. (Pl. XV, 2).

As stated earlier, the coins of the Lion-slayer type of Chandragupta II are artistically of very high quality. The muscular body of the king is depicted very gracefully.[280] The lion is seen here exhibiting "its power to struggle"[281] The representation of *Siṁhavāhinī Devī* on the reverse is also very graceful and artistic. No wonder, the Lion-slayer type of Chandragupta II is placed among the best specimens of ancient Indian numismatic art.[282]

RHINOCEROS-SLAYER TYPE OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I

We may casually mention that Kumāragupta I is also known to have struck gold coins of Tiger-slayer[283] and Lion-slayer types.[284] Kumāragupta I revived the Tiger-slayer type of his grandfather,[285] and continued the Lion-slayer type of his father.[286] Kumāragupta I, however, issued a type on which he is shown slaying a lion while himself riding an elephant.[287] These

types of Kumāragupta I do not seem to have any connection with the conquest of the Gaṅgā Valley and Kathiawar, for these regions were already parts of the Gupta empire he inherited.

The Rhinoceros-slayer type of Kumāragupta I was a new type struck by this ruler and is regarded by some scholars as a victory medal.

Obv. : King, bare-headed, riding a caparisoned horse to r.; dressed in buttoned coat and trousers; leaning forward and attacking a rhinoceros with a sword held in his r. hand; the beast stands at bay, turning back its head to attack, mouth being open. Circular Brāhmī legend : (*Bhartā* ?) *khaḍgatrātā Kumāragupto jayatyaniśam*.

Rev. : Goddess Gaṅgā, without nimbus, standing to l. on *makara*; stalked lotus in trunk of the *makara*; r. hand of goddess extended, forefinger pointed at some invisible object; l. hand empty, hanging by her side; goddess dressed in usual ornaments; behind her, a female attendant bearing in her r. hand a *chhatra*, its staff being denoted by a dotted line; her l. hand on the waist. Brāhmī legend on the l.: *Śrī-Mahendrakhaḍga*.[288]

Gold. Round. (Pl. XV, 3-5).

Regarding the Rhinoceros-slayer type, M.M. Nagar remarked, "The portrayal of rhinoceros ... is very important as it suggests that nearly 1500 years ago this animal was frequently met with in Āryāvarta, although it has since become entirely extinct from here. Or alternately it may suggest that Assam (ancient Kāmarūpa), the marshy jungles of which are even today the abode of

rhinoceroses, was included in the vast empire of Kumāragupta I, and that sometime during his lifetime the king had visited the place and hunted there these wild and hefty animals. The latter view, however, appears more plausible, as it is supported by similar coin types of other Imperial Gupta emperors, the Tiger-slayer type of Samudragupta marking his conquest of Eastern Bengal and Assam (Samataṭa-Ḍavāka-Kāmarūpa) areas, where alone the tigers are found, and the Lion-slayer type of Chandragupta II commemorating his conquest of Kathiawar, the only place where lions are found in India."[289]

The view of Nagar has been supported by several scholars.[290] P.J. Chinmulgund says, "Nagar seems to be right in his conclusion that Kumāragupta's empire included Assam and that the king might have hunted the rhinoceros there."[291] B.N. Mukherjee has also tried to show that Kumāragupta I conquered Kāmarūpa.[292] Recently, Y.B. Singh has suggested[293] that Puṣyavarman of Kāmarūpa owed allegiance to Samudragupta, and he named his son Samudravarman after the name of this Gupta monarch. Samudravarman was followed by Balavarman, Kalyāṇavarman, and Gaṇapativarman in that order. Gaṇapativarman is known to have named his son Mahendravarman.[294] Y.B. Singh is of the view that this Gaṇapativarman seems to be a contemporary of Kumāragupta I. He was humbled by the Gupta monarch, and resorting to the earlier practice of naming his son and successor after the name of his overlord, he named his heir-apparent Mahendravarman after Mahendrāditya, the title of Kumāragupta I.[295]

S.V. Sohoni, however, pointed out[296] that according to S.H. Prater, "Formerly extensively distributed in the Indian Peninsula, today it (the rhinoceros) is restricted to parts of Nepal and Assam.

In Nepal, it is found only in the country to the east of the Gandak river, known as Chaitwan, in Assam in isolated areas of the plains."[297] "Unfortunately," Sircar says, "the word 'formerly' in the passage quoted from Prater does not make it clear whether the rhinoceros was 'extensively distributed in the Indian Peninsula' before or even after the age of the Imperial Guptas (from the 4th to the 6th century A.D.)."[298]

Sohoni himself observes,"It is not necessary to hold that Kumāragupta I had to go to Kāmarūpa to hunt a big one-horned rhinoceros .... It is more probable that Kumāragupta's hunt of rhinoceros took place in North Bihar jungles adjoining the Chaitwan region in Nepal, not far away from Vaiśālī, than in distant Assam. A ruler of Pāṭaliputra would have found this more convenient."[299]

Sircar finds it difficult to determine the exact spot of the rhinoceros-hunt of Kumāragupta I, as the beast flourished in the Gaṅgā Valley in early times.[300] We have evidence of existence of the rhinoceros in the Gaṅgā Valley in the eleventh century A.D. Al Biruni writes, "The ganda exists in large numbers in India, more particularly about the Ganges."[301]

It is very difficult to ascertain the exact spot where Kumāragupta I hunted the rhinoceros, if at all he hunted that animal. The available sources of his history are silent about his military exploits. Yet he issued the Aśvamedha type of coins, indicating that he performed the horse-sacrifice. If he issued the Rhinoceros-slayer type to commemorate his conquest of Assam, this would also justify the performance of the *Aśvamedha yajña* by him.[302]

References

1. *CIGC*, p. 37.
2. "New Greek Coins of Bactria and India", in *NC*, 1887, pp. 177-181.

3. *A Guide to the Principal Coins of the Greeks*, p. 49, Pl. XXVII.4.
4. *JNSI*, Vol. XXXIII, Pt. II, p.1.
5. Cf. *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 416, "Horseman ... overtaking and attacking two warriors retreating on an elephant."
6. *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 416, Pl. I, 16; *NC*, 1887, pp. 177 ff., Pl. VII, 1; "The Earliest Graeco-Bactrian and Graeco-Indian Coins",

   NC, 1906, pp. 8, ff., Pl. I; *Historia Numorum*, London, (2nd ed.), 1911, pp. 832 ff.
7. Deena bandhu Pandey, *JNSI*, Vol. XXXIII, Pt. II, p. 1; B.V. Head, *A Guide to the Principal Coins of the Greeks*, p. 49.
8. *JNSI*, Vol. XXXIII, Pt. II, p. 1.
9. Head, *A Guide to the Principal Coins of the Greeks*, p.49, Pl.XXVII 4.
10. *JNSI*, Vol. XXXIII, Pt. II, p. 1
11. *NC*, 1887, p. 177.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 178.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. *NC*, 1906, pp. 8 ff.; *Historia Numorum*, p. 833.
16. *NC*, 1906, pp. 8 ff.
17. *Historia Numorum* , p. 833.
18. *A Guide to the Principal Coins of the Greeks*, p. 49.
19. See *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 349.
20. *Historia Numorum*, p. 833.
21. *Ibid.* Cf. Gardner, *NC*, 1887, p. 179, who suggests that it might have been an abbreviated form A B which appears on some coins of Antiochos I of Syria. MacDonald, however, supports Head's interpretation of the monogram.
22. E.g., Smith, *EHI* (4th ed.), p. 76; Lahiri, *CIGC*, pp. 37-38; Brown, *Coins of India*, p. 23; Jai Prakash, *JNSI*, Vol. XXIII, p. 245; Swami Satya Prakash Saraswati, *Coinage in Ancient India*, Vol. I, p. 111.
23. *NC*, 1887, p. 178.

24. *NC*, 1927, quoted by J.N. Banerjea in *JNSI*, Vol. XII, Pt. II, p. 119, and fn. 2.
25. McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great as described by Arrian, Q. Curtius*, etc., p. 212. The passage was pointed out by J.N. Banerjea, *JNSI*, Vol. XII, Pt. II, p. 119, and fn. 3.
26. *JNSI*, Vol. XII, Pt. II, pp. 119-120.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 120.
28. *Ibid.*
29. *A Guide to the Principal Coins of the Greeks*, p. 49.
30. *Ibid.*
31. *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 349.
32. J.N. Banerjea, *JNSI*, Vol. XII, Pt. II, p. 118.
33. *Historia Numorum*, p. 833.
34. Deena Bandhu Pandey, *JNSI*, Vol. XXXIII, Pt. II, pp. 5-7.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
36 *Ibid.*
37. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
39. *A Guide to the Principal Coins of the Greeks*, p. 49.
40. *JNSI*, Vol. XXXIII, Pt. II, pp. 3-4.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
42. *Ibid.*, pp. 3, 7.
43. *JNSI*, Vol. XXXIII, Pt. II, p. 7.
44. Tarn, *GBI*, p., 207.
45. The weight of the coin is 2593.5 grains; see *BMC,GSKBI*, p. 165; also *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 409.
46. *BMC,GSKBI*, p. 165, no. 1; *JNSI*, Vol. XVIII, Pt. II, p. 218, Pl. IX, 0; Lahiri, *CIGC*, p. 122, Pl. XVI, 2.
47. Tarn, *GBI*, p. 207.
48. *BMC,GSKBI*, p. 165, no. 1.

49. This story, as given in the *American Journal of Numismatics*, Vol. XIV, No. 1, July, 1879, p. 18, is retold by Sudha Narain in *JNSI*, Vol. XVIII, Pt. II, pp. 217-218.

50. Chabouillet, *Revue Numismatique*, 1867, p. 382, Pl. XII; *CASE*, p. 164, no. 1; *BMC,GSKBI*, p. 165, no. 1; *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 27, unrepresented type (i); *JNSI*, Vol. XVIII, Pt. II, p. 218, Pl. IX, 0; Lahiri, *CIGC*, p. 122, Pl. XVI, 2.

51. *CASE*, p. 164, no. 1.

52. *NC*, 1923, pp. 301-302.

52a. *CIGC*, Pl. XVI, 2.

52b. *Ibid.*, p. 123

53. *JNSI*, Vol. XVIII, Pt. II, Pl. IX, 0.

54. *CIGC*, p. 123. The lower portion is angular.

55. Quoted by Whitehead in *NC*, 1923, pp. 301-302.

56. *NC*, 1923, pp. 301-302.

57. *GBI*, pp. 195 ff.

58. This title was used for Antiochos IV by Philippos, who received a gift from the Syrian king. See *GBI*, p. 195.

59. *GBI*, p. 206.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 207. According to Bayer, p. 106, he took the title of ΜΕΓΑΣ after these conquests.

61. *GBI*, p 207, fn. 5.

62. It was "certainly, from the style, struck in Bactria, not in India." *GBI*, p. 207, fn. 5.

62a. *GBI*, p. 198.

63. *IG*, p. 56.

64. *The House of Seleucus*, Vol. II, pp. 145 ff.

65. *IG*, p. 57.

66. *Ibid.*

67. Tarn, *GBI*, p. 200; Narain, *IG*, p. 58.

68. Narain, *NNM(NSI)*, No. 1, p. 35; also Bivar, *JNSI*, Vol. XVII, p. 42.

69. *Spink's Numismatic Circular*, Vol. LXI, No. 5, cols., 201-202; *JNSI*, Vol. XV, Pt. II, p. 213.

70. *Spink's Numismatic Circular*, Vol. LXI, No.5 cols. 201-202, fig.1: *JNSI* Vol.. XV , Pt. II, p. 213, Pl. IX, 1; *IG*, Pl. V, 1; *CIGC*, pp. 78-79, Pl. III, 1.

71. *JNSI*, Vol. XVII, p. 51, nos. 47-48, Pl. VII, 1-2.

72. *CIGC*, p. 79.

73. *BMC,GSKBI*, p. 61; *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 78.

74. *NC*, 1923, p. 332.

75. *IG*, p. 157.

76. *CIGC*, p. 79.

77. *Spink's Numismatic Circular*, Vol. LXI, No. 5, cols. 201-202, fig. 2; *JNSI*, Vol. XV, Pt. II, p. 213, Pl. IX, 2; *CIGC*, p. 79, Pl. III, 2.

78. *JNSI*, Vol. XVII, pp. 51-52, nos. 49-51, Pl. VII, 3, Pl. VIII, 1-2.

79. *CIGC*, p. 79.

80. *GBI*, p. 334.

81. *Ibid.*

82. *Ibid.*, pp. 334-335.

83. *IG*, p. 155.

84. *Ibid.*

85. *IG*, p. 155.

86. *Ibid.*, pp. 155-156.

87. *Ibid.*, p. 156.

88. *Ibid.*

89. Narain, *IG*, p. 157.

90. *Ibid.*, p. 157.

91. *IG*, p. 157,.

92. *CASE*,. pp. 298-299.

93. *IG*, p. 157.

94. *Ibid.*, 155.

95. The successor might be any of three kings, Zoilos II, Dionysios, Apollophanes. See *IG*, p. 181, Chart.

96. See *PMC*, Vol. I, pp. 65-67, Pl. VII, 354 (Zoilos II); p. 68, Pl. VII, pp 550 (Apollophanes.)

97. Tarn, *GBI*, p. 331,; Narain, *IG*, p. 181, Chart.

98. Tarn, *GBI*, p. 337 ; Narain, *IG*, p. 181, Chart.

99. See *IG*, p. 181, Chart.

100. *IG*, p. 157.

101. For those who do not agree with this view, see R. Burn, *JRAS*, 1941, p. 65; Narain, *IG*, pp. 48-49.

102. Cf. the view of Tarn, *GBI*, p. 328.

103. Lahiri, *CIGC*, pp. 88-89. For detailed reference, see *infra*.

104. Lahiri, *CIGC*, p. 164.

105. *Ibid.*, p.144.

106. *BMC, GSKBI*, p. 12, Pl. V, 1-3; *PMC*, Vol. I., pp. 18-19, Pl. II, 54, 56, 58; *JNSI*, Vol. XVII, p. 48, nos. 13-18, Pl. II, 2-7; *CIGC*, p. 88, Pl. VI, 3; *CHI*, Vol. I, Pl. III, 8.

107. Gardner, *BMC, GSKBI*, p. xxix. Also Rapson, *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 493 - "the Indus or the Jhelum."

108. Gardner, *BMC, GSKBI*, p. xxix.

109. *GBI*, p. 90.

110. *Ibid.*

111. For the reason, see *ibid.*, p. 90.

112. For the reason, see *ibid.*, p. 91.

113. *Ibid.*, p. 91.

114. *Journal des Savants*, Feb. 1836, p. 82.

115. *GBI*, p. 91, and fns. 2, 3.

116. *JRAS*, 1941, p. 65.

117. K.B. Trever, *Pamyatniki Greko-Baktriyskogo Iskusstva*, Moscow and Leningrad, 1940, p. 128, as noticed by Narain,*IG*, p. 49, and fn. 2.

118. Trever, *op.cit.*, as noticed by Narain, IG, p. 49, and fn. 3.

119. Bhaskar Chattopadhyay, *Coins and Icons*, p. 118.
120. Bhaskar Chattopadhyay, *Coins and Icons*, p. 118.
121. *IG*, p. 48.
122. *Ibid.*, p. 49.
123. Lahiri, *CIGC*, p. 89, Pl. VI, 8.
124. *BMC,GSKBI*, p. xxix.
125. *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 493.
126. *GBI*, pp. 90-91.
127. *BMC,GSKBI*, p. 164, Pl. XXX, 7; *CASE*, p. 120; *CIGC*, p. 89, Pl. VI, 8.
128. *BMC,GSKBI*, p. xxix.
129. *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 493.
130. *BMC,GSKBI*, p. 58, Pl. XIII, 12. The head of Poseidon is here described as head similar to that of the king on *BMC,GSKBI*, Pl. XIII, 11; NC, 1923, p. 334, no. 53, Pl. XVI, 14; *CIGC*, p. 164, Pl. XXVII, 6.
131. *NC*, 1923, p. 334.
132. *GBI*. p. 328.
133. *IG*, p. 149.
134. *GBI*, p. 328.
135. *Ibid.*, p. 328, fn. 5.
136. *Ibid.*, pp. 328-329.
137. *Ibid.*, p. 329.
138. *GBI*, p. 330.
139. *Ibid.*
140. *IG*, p. 149.
141. *Ibid.*, p. 149, and fn. 8.
142. *JRAS*, 1941, p. 65.
143. See Tarn, *GBI*, p. 328.
144. What seems like cornucopiae in the goddess's left hand is described by Gardner, *BMC, GSKBI*, p.60, and Whitehead, *PMC*, Vol.I, p. 77, as

palm. Lahiri, however, describes it as cornucopiae. *CIGC*, p. 144.

145. *BMC, GSKBI*, p. 60, Pl. XIV, 6; *PMC*, Vol. I, p.77, Pl. VIII, 631; *CIGC*, p.144, Pl.XXII, 7.

146. *GBI*, p.326.

147. *Ibid.*, p. 329.

148. *GBI*, p. 328.

149. *Ibid.*, pp. 329-330.

150. *BMC, GSKBI*, p. 59, Pl. XIV, 2,3, 4.

151. *GBI*, p., 329.

151a. *IG*, p. 113. The reason given here by Narain seems to be quite convincing.

152. *IG*, p. 149.

153. *GBI*, p. 328.

154. "On the smaller coins of this type, Poseidon stands with right arm outstretched." *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 100, fn. 1. Cf. *BMC,GSKBI*, p. 70, no. 16, Marshall, "r. hand on knee". *Taxila*, Vol. II, p. 806, no. 117.

155. *CCS*, p. 33.

156. Whitehead writes "between trees". *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 100, no.20.

157. *CCS*, pp. 32-33, Pl. III, 22; *BMC,GSKBI*, p. 70, Pl. XVII, 1; *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 100 , Pl. X, 20; *Taxila*, Vol. II, p. 806, Pl. 238, no. 117.

158. *CCS*, p. 33, Pl. III, 23; *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 101, no. 23; *Taxila*, Vol. II, p. 805, no 114, Pl. 238, no. 114.

159. *CCS*, p. 33, Pl. III, 24.

160. Marshall says "Nāga". *Taxila*, Vol. II, p. 806, no. 115.

161. *BMC,GSKBI*, p. 71, Pl. XVII, 2; *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 101, no. 24; *Taxila*, Vol. II, p. 806, no. 115, Pl. 238.

162. Gardner is not very sure of this identification, for he writes "(Maenad ?)". *BMC,GSKBI*, pp. 70, 71, Coin nos. 14, 17.

163. *PMC*, Vol. I, pp. 100, 101.

164. *CCS*, p. 4.

165. *Taxila*, Vol. II, p. 805, no. 114.

166. This view of Raoul Rochette has been noticed by Cunningham in *CCS*, p.3.

167. *CCS*, p. 3.

168. *GBI*, p. 322.

169. *Ibid.*

170. *Taxila*, Vol. I, p. 47.

171. *Ibid.*

172. *Ibid.*

173. The figure of Poseidon actually trampling the river-god makes it difficult for us to accept the suggestion that the battle commemorated on these coin-types was an indecisive one.

174. See *supra*, Chapter II.

175. *BMC,GSKBI*, p. 77, Pl. XVIII, 1; *CCS*, p. 40, Pl. V, 7; *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 117, Pl. XI, 177, 178.

176. *BMC,GSKBI*, p. 89, describes Poseidon as standing to left. Actually, he is standing to front, with his face turned to the left.

177. *BMC,GSKBI*, p. 89, Pl. XIX, 10; *CCS*, p. 42, Pl. VI, 1; *PMC*, Vol. I, pp. 122-123; *Taxila*, Vol. II, pp. 808-809, nos. 143, 144, Pl. 239.

178. Tarn, *GBI*, p. 349.

179. *Ibid.*, p. 329.

180. *Ibid.*, p. 349.

181. *Ibid.*

182. One specimen is in the *British Museum*. See *BMC,GSKBI*, p. 89, no. 184, and fn. The other specimen is in the *Punjab Museum*. See *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 123, no. 246. Interestingly, this second specimen is restruck on the Triton type coin of Hippostratos.

183. See Tarn, *GBI*, pp. 349, and fn. 6.

184. *Ibid.*, p. 349, also p. 327; Narain, *IG*, p. 162. We would, however, like to point out that the "Poseidon trampling upon the river-god" type of Azes is also restruck on a coin of Apollodotos (*PMC*, Vol. I, p. 123, no. 244), who, according to Narain (*IG*, p. 181, Chart), existed nearly half a century earlier than Azes I, and Azes I could not possibly have

defeated him. But cf. B.N. Mukherjee, *Agrippan Source*, p. 172.

185. *GBI*, p. 349.

186. *CGE*, p. 69.

187. *Ibid.*, p. 71.

188. Cf. Battle-axe type of Samudragupta, *BMC,GD*, Pl. IV, 8.

189. *BMC,GD*, pp. 17, 18, Pl. II, 15; *GGCBH*, Pl. VI, 10; *CGE*, pp. 71-7 2, Pl. III, 13.

190. *BMC,GD*, p. 17, Pl. II, 14; *CGE*, p. 72, Pl. III, 14; B.N. Mukherjee, *Art in Gupta and Post-Gupta Coinages*, Pl. IV, 1.

191. *JASB*, 1884, i. p. 177.

192. *BMC,GD*, pp. lxxiv, 17.

193. *CGE*, p. 70.

194. *PHAI*, p. 486.

195. *Art in Gupta and Post-Gupta Coinages*, p. 21.

196. *CGE*, p. 70.

197. Both are shown as "slim and graceful". *CGE*, p. 71.

198. *Ibid.*

199. For the reasons that the Aśvamedha type was struck late in the reign of Samudragupta, see *supra*, Chapter IX.

200. *JRAS*, 1889, p. 65.

201. *History of India*, p. 118.

202. *CGE*, p. 71.

203. *Ibid.*, p. 184, Pl. XI, 14.

204. *Ibid.*, p. 71.

205. *Ibid.*

206. *JNSI*, Vol. V, p. 151; also *The Gupta Empire*, p. 35.

207. *JNSI*, Vol. V, pp. 151-152.

208. *Ibid.*, p. 152.

209. *Ibid.*, p. 151, fn. 2.

210. *BMC,GD*, p. lxxiv.

211. *JNSI*, Vol. V, p. 151, fn. 2.

212 *CGE*, p. 20.

213. *PHAI*, p. 486, Cf. M.M. Nagar, *JNSI*, Vol. XI, Pt. I, p. 8, who says that the type commemorated Samudragupta's conquest of East Bengal and Assam.

214. See V.S. Pathak, *Numismatic Digest*, Vols. 12-13, pp. 56 ff.

215. *CGE*, p. 70.

216. See *supra*, n.197.

217. Altekar is of the opinion that "Lion-hunter type" may be a better designation. See *CGE*, p. 105, fn. 1.

218. *CGE*, p. 105; also p. 22.

219. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

220. *JNSI*, Vol. V, p. 152; also, *The Gupta Empire* p 55.

221. It is well-known that Chandragupta II conquered Kathiawar from the Kārddamaka Śakas. See *PHAI*, p. 490; *CA*, p. 19; *VGA*, pp. 167-168,; *IMC*, Vol. I. p. 97.

222. *PHAI*, p. 486. But cf. Chandragupta I - Kumāradevī type of Chandragupta I, which shows *Siṁhavāhinī Devī* (*CGE*, p. 33, Pl. I, 8). The rule of Chandragupta I was confined to Magadha, and the surrounding regions, and parts of Uttar Pradesh, and had no connection with the Vindhyas (*PHAI*, p. 469; *VGA*, p. 134). Also, Samudragupta, who extended the boundaries of the Gupta empire to the Vindhyas and the Himalayas, did not issue any type with *Siṁhavāhinī Devī* reverse. V.S. Pathak is however, of the view that the lion hunting motive has Sassanian impact. See *Numismatic Digest*, Vols. 12-13, pp. 58 ff.

223. Smith, as referred to by Allan, *BMC,GD*, p. lxxxii; also Altekar, CGE, p. 106.

224. *BMC,GD*, p. lxxxii.

225. *Ibid.*

226. *Ibid.*, p. 38, Pl. VIII, 11.

227. *Ibid.*, p. 43, Pl. IX, 10.

228. *Ibid.*, p. 44, Pl. IX, 11.

229. *JNSI*, Vol. V, p. 152.

230. *JNSI*, Vol. V, p. 152,

231. *CGE*, p. 106.

232. *CGE*, Pl. VI, 1-4; (see our Pl. XIV, 1).

233. *CGE*, Pl. VI, 5, 6; (see our Pl. XIV, 2).

234. *CGE*, Pl. VI, 1-4.

235. *Ibid.*, Pl. VI, 5 , 6.

236. *Ibid.*, Pl. VI, 5, 6.

237. *Ibid.*, Pl. VI, 1-4.

238. In *ibid.*, Pl. XIX, 1, he is not stringing the bow.

239. *Ibid.*, Pl. VI, 1, 3, Pl. VII, 10.

240. *Ibid.*, Pl. VII, 10, Pl. VI, 5,

241. *Ibid.*, Pl. VI, 4.

242. *Ibid.*, Pl. VI, 6; the right hand of the goddess is empty.

243. This legend was read Hoernle as *Siṅghaghnābhijña* on one coin. See *JASB*, Vol. LIX, Pt. I, Pl. 5. Altekar does not find the reading as justified. *CGE*, p. 110, fn. 1.

244. For the five varieties of Class I, see Altekar, *CGE*, pp. 111-113.

245. *BMC, GD*, pp. lxxxii-lxxxiii.

246. For the ten varieties of this class, see Altekar, *CGE*, pp.114-118.

247. *Ibid.*, Pl. VI, 11; (See our Pl. XIV, 6).

248. *CGE*, Pl. VI, 7; (See our Pl. XIV, 3).

249. *CGE*, Pl. VI, 7.

250. *Ibid.*, Pl. VI, 7.

251. *Ibid.*, Pl. VI, 11-15.

252. *Ibid.*, Pl. VI, 7-10.

253. *Ibid.*, Pl. VI, 7.

254. *Ibid.*, Pl. VI, 9; (See our Pl. XIV, 4).

255. *CGE*, Pl. VI, 10; (See our Pl. XIV, 5).

256. *CGE*, Pl. VII, 4; (see our Pl. XIV, 7).

257. *CGE*, Pl. VI. 7.

258. *Ibid.*, Pl. VI, 9.

259. *Ibid.*, Pl. VI, 14.

260. Noose (right) and cornucopiae (left), *ibid.*, Pl. VI, 7; Noose (right) and lotus (left) *ibid.*, Pl. VI, 9.

261. *Ibid.*, Pl. VI, 13.

262. *Ibid.*, Pl. VI, 12.

263. *Ibid.*, pp. 110-111.

264. For the four varieties of this class, see Altekar, *CGE*, pp. 119-121. He had divided this class into five varieties, but we think that his Variety D, on which the king is slaying the lion with a sword, should be placed in a separate class, like Allan, *BMC,GD*, p. 45.

265. *CGE*, Pl. VII, 5; (See our Pl. XIV, 8).

266. *CGE*, Pl. VII, 7; (see our Pl. XV, 1).

267. *CGE*, Pl. VII, 5.

268. *CGE*, Pl. VII, 8.

269 *Ibid.*, Pl. VII, 5.

270. *Ibid.*, Pl. VII, 5.

271. *Ibid.*, Pl. VII, 6; (see our Pl. XIV, 9).

272. The complete legend is never available, but the extant traces stand for *Narendrachandraḥ prathitaraṇo raṇe jayatyajeyo bhuvi siṁhavikramaḥ*. See *CGE*, Pl. VII, 7.

273. *Ibid.*, Pl. VII, 5 (lion, couchant to left); Pl. VII, 9 (lion couchant to right).

274. *Ibid.*, Pl. VII, 6.

275. *Ibid.*, Pl. VII, 5.

276. *NC*, 1910, Pl. XIV, 14.

277. *CGE*, p. 120.

278. This is regarded as fillet by Allan, *BMC,GD*, p. 45.

279. *BMC,GD*, p. 45, Pl. IX, 13; *CGE*, p. 120, Pl. VII, 9. For the identification of the *Siṁhavāhinī Devī* on the reverse, see *supra*, Chapter V.

280. *CGE*, p. 107.

281. B.N. Mukherjee, *Art in Gupta and Post-Gupta Coinages*, p. 21.

282. *CGE*, p. 22.

283. *BMC,GD*, pp. 81-83, Pl. XIV, 14-17, Pl. XV, 1-4; *CGE*, pp. 192-194, Pl. XII, 11-13.

284. *BMC,GD*, pp. 76-81, Pl. XIV, 1-13; *CGE*, pp. 186-190, Pl. XII, 1-10.

285. See *BMC,GD*, pp. xci-xcii; also *CGE*, pp. 190-191

286. *CGE*, p. 185.

287. *CGE*, pp. 196-197, Pl. XIII, 1, 2

288. *CGE*, p. 198, Pl. XIII, 3-6.

289. *JNSI*, Vol. XI, Pt. I, p. 8.

290. E.g., Sohoni, *JNSI*, Vol. XVII, Pt. II, pp.104-106.

291. *Ibid.*, pp. 105-106.

292. *IHQ*, Vol. XXXI, 1955, pp. 175 ff.

293. *JNSI*, Vol. XLIII, Pt. I, p. 69, and fn. 4.

294 *CA*, p. 89.

295. *JNSI*, Vol. XLIII, Pt. I, pp. 69-70.

296. *JNSI*, Vol. XVIII, Pt. II, p. 179.

297. Prater, *The Book of Indian Animals*, pp. 101 ff.

298. *Studies in Indian Coins*, p. 216.

299. *JNSI*, Vol. XVIII, Pt. II, p. 179.

300. *Studies in Indian Coins*, p. 217.

301. See Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, Part I, pp. 203-204. Cf. E.P. Gee, *The Wild Life of India*, p. 151, who says that the rhinoceros became extinct in the Gaṅgā Valley in the nineteenth century A.D.

302. See Y.B. Singh, *JNSI*, Vol. XLIII, Pt. I, p. 69. Cf. S. Chattopadhyaya, *Early History of North India*, pp. 177-178, who says that Kumāragupta I performed the *Aśvamedha* to commemorate his conquests towards the Narmadā Valley. But Y.B. Singh says that "such a suggestion goes against the combined testimony of the Bhitari and the Junagarh inscriptions." See *JNSI*, Vol. XLIII, Pt. I, p. 69. Cf. also S.R. Goyal who has suggested that Kumāragupta I probably conquered some

regions in Dakṣiṇāpatha, and issued the Aśvamedha type of coins "to celebrate his southern adventure." *A History of the Imperial Guptas*, pp. 256 ff.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER X

THE JITAṀ BHAGAVATĀ PADMANĀBHENA COINS

A copper metallic piece was published by K.D. Bajpai in 1971.

Obv. : Brāhmī legend: *Jitaṁ Bhagavatā Padmanābhena in* two straight lines within an oval enclosure.

Rev. : *Kalpavṛikṣa* in an ornamental form.[1]

Copper. Round.

Regarding the attribution and nature of this piece, K.D. Bajpai conjectures that it is a coin issued by Chandragupta II after his victory over eastern Mālavā. He bases his conjecture on the facts that Chandragupta II is referred to as *Paramabhāgavata*, but avoided mentioning his own name on these pieces as he attributed his great victory over the Śakas to Viṣṇu, and that coins issued in the names of deities are not unknown in ancient India.[2] Bajpai's alternative suggestion is that it might have been a token but adds that "in so far as the large Gupta coinage is concerned, no such example is known so far."[3]

Nisar Ahmed, however, observes, "The representation of *Kalpavṛiksha* on the reverse of this coin, which is the non-Gupta

coin-device, and simply thc occurrence of the Vaishṇava legend make us reluctant to ascribe it to Chandragupta II."[4]

J.P. Singh objects to the conjectures of K.D. Bajpai on the basis of the marked dissimilarity between this piece and the silver issues of Chandragupta II struck for circulation in western India, the absence of the King's name or *viruda* on this piece, the existence of several *Paramabhāgavata* Gupta monarchs apart from Chandragupta II, and the non-connection of this piece with the Guptas on the basis of the name of the dynasty or typology.[5] He is of the view that this piece is not a coin, but a medal struck by a temple of Padmanābha Viṣṇu "for the use of its devotees to satisfy their religious needs. If this suggestion is accepted, it can well be said that the present piece is perhaps the earliest known temple medal."[6] He compares these medals with the Rāmaṭaṅkā series and the medals of the Gadhaiya type bearing the legend *Śrī-Oṁkāra* on the reverse,[7] which, according to Indraji,[8] were struck by the authorities of the Oṁkāra-Māndhātā temple. K.D. Bajpai, however, points out that "a comparison of our copper piece from Sanchi with these late specimens can fruitfully be made."[9] As he observes, "Anyway, the question of assignment of the Sanchi coin may be left an open one till we come across a definite conclusive evidence in the matter."[10]

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1. *JNSI*, Vol. XXXIII, Pt. I, p. 120, Pl. V, 4.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 120-121. Bajpai cites the examples of the Yaudheya, Audumbara, and Kuṇinda coins issued in the names of Kārttikeya and Śiva respectively
3. *JNSI*, Vol. XXXIII, Pt. I, p. 121.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 121, fn. 1. See, however, *BMC,GD*, Pl. XVII,

26,27; Pl. XX, 15-29; Pl. XXI, 1-12, for the occurrence of the *Kalpavrikṣa* on Gupta coins.

5. *JNSI*, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. II, pp. 254-255.
6. *Ibid.*, p.257.
7. *JNSI* , Vol. XXXIV, pt. II, P. 257.
8. *JBBRAS*, Vol. XII, P. 325.
9. *JNSI*, Vol. XXXIV, Pt . II, P. 259.
10. *Ibid.*

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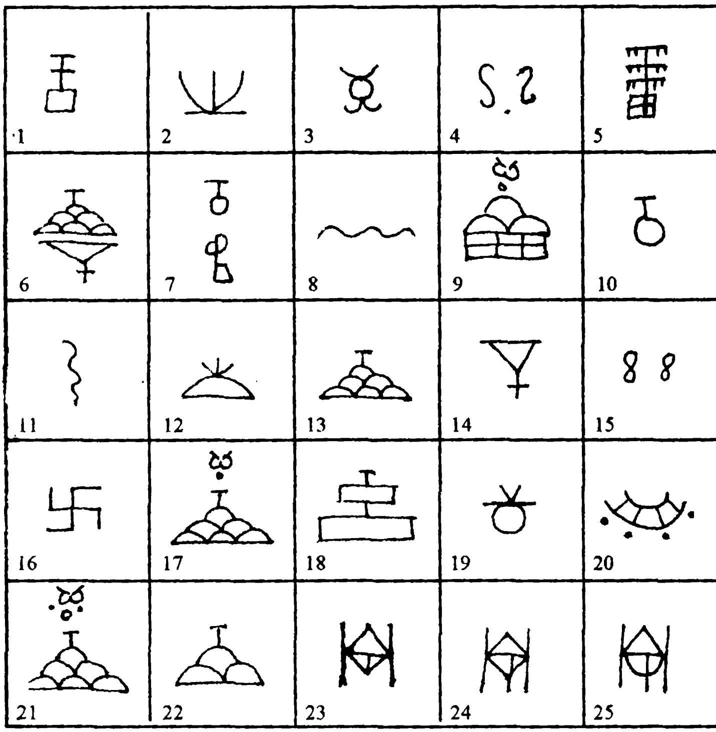
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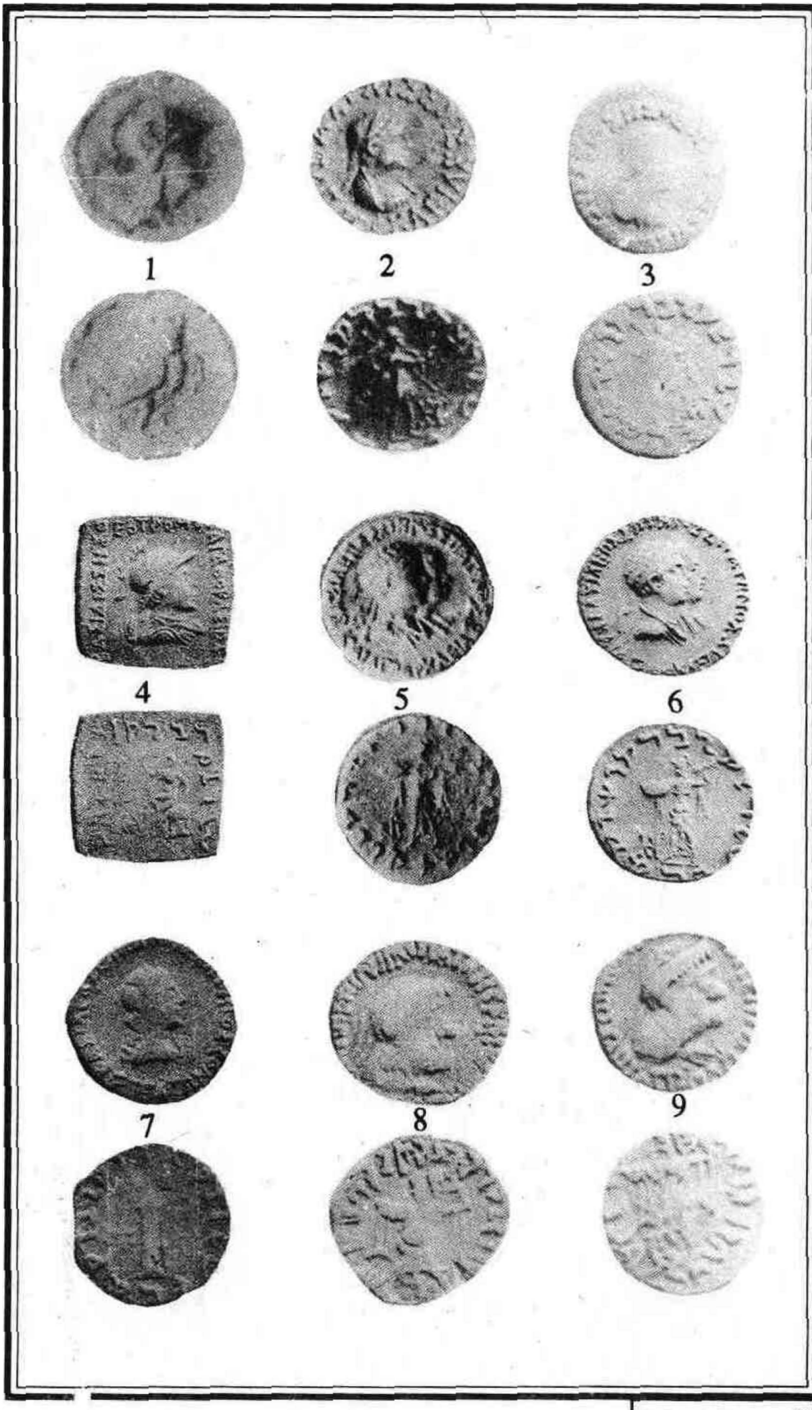


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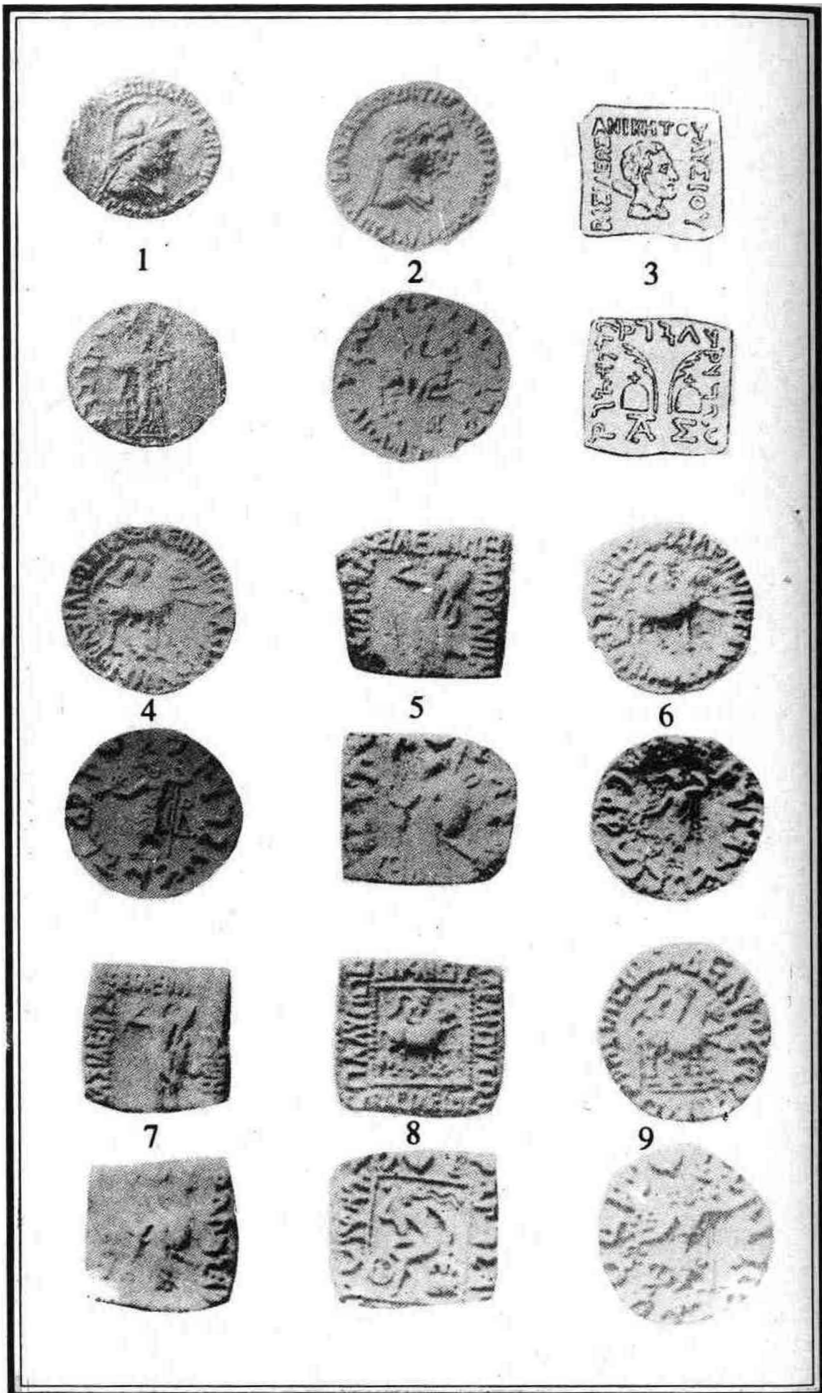


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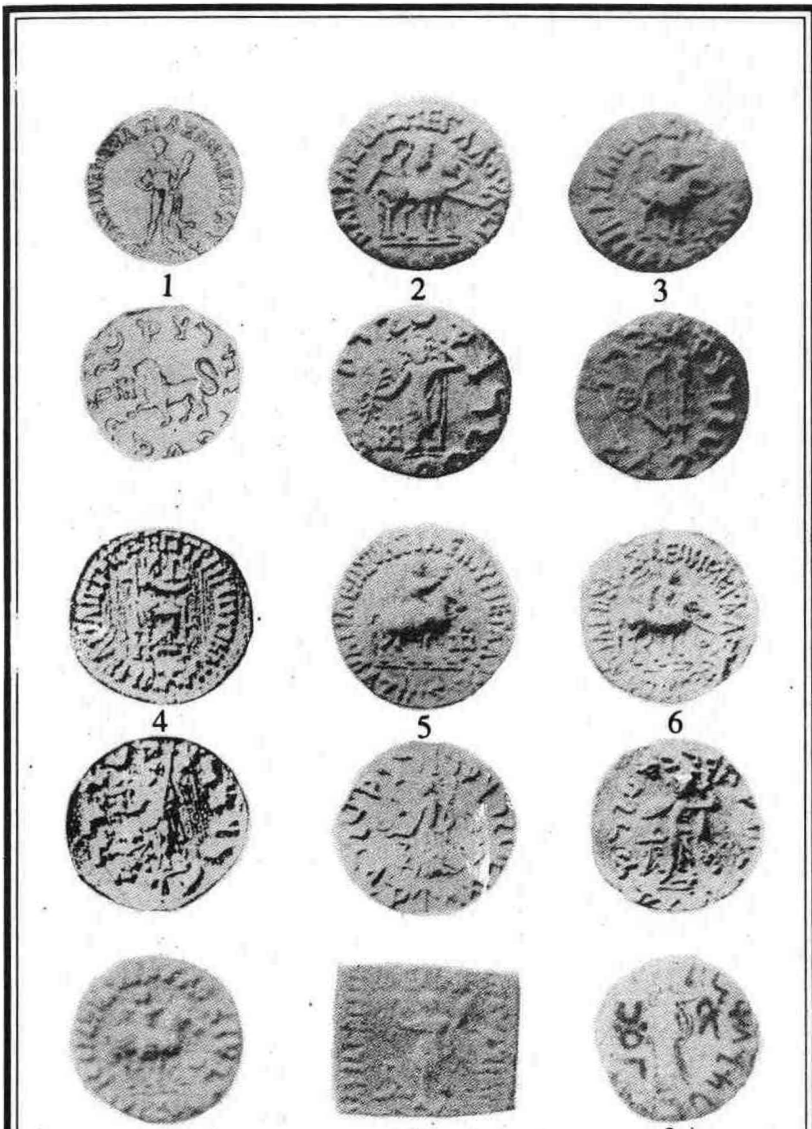


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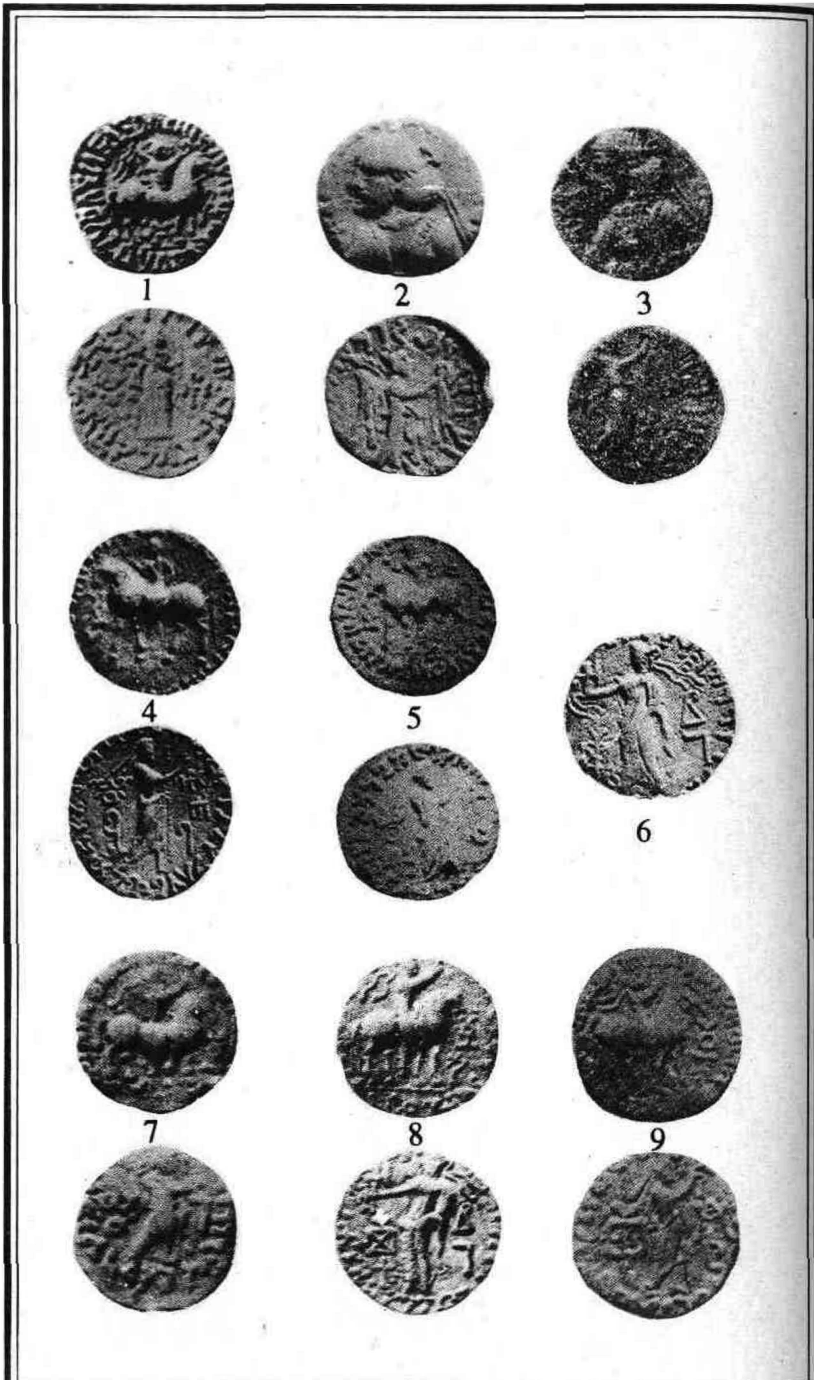


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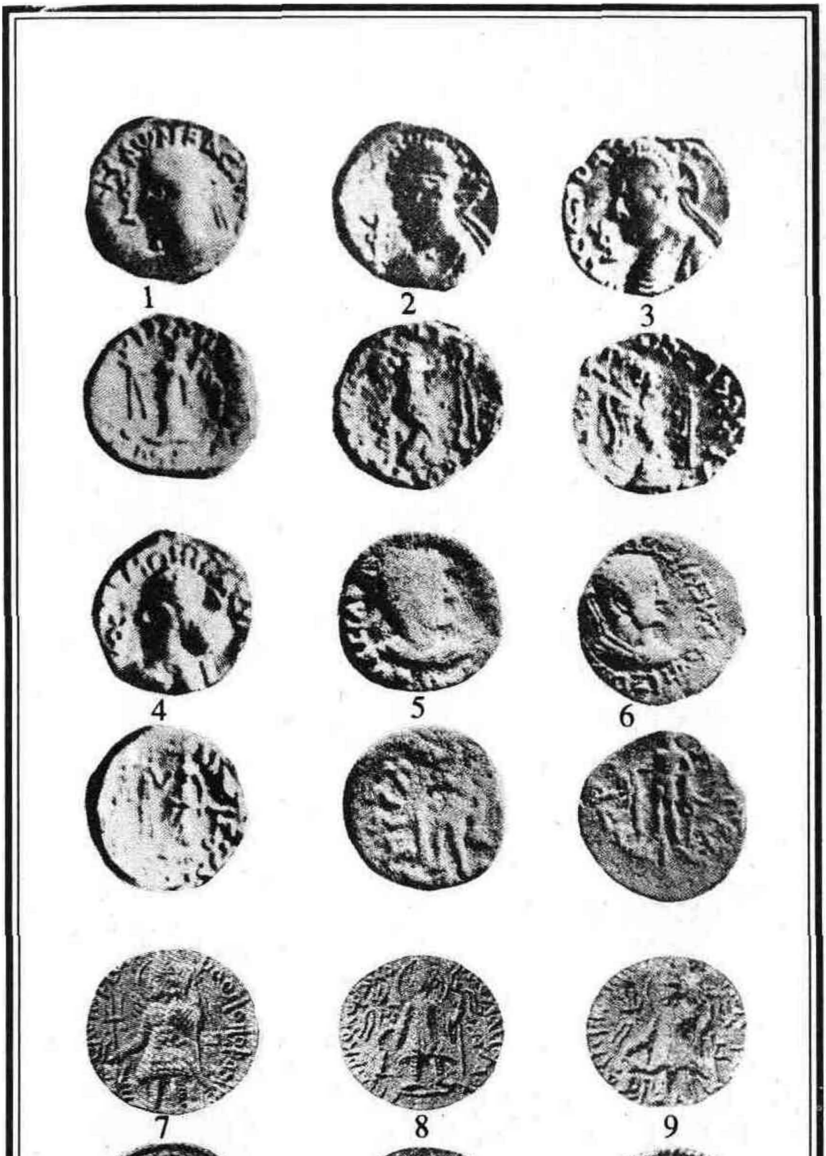


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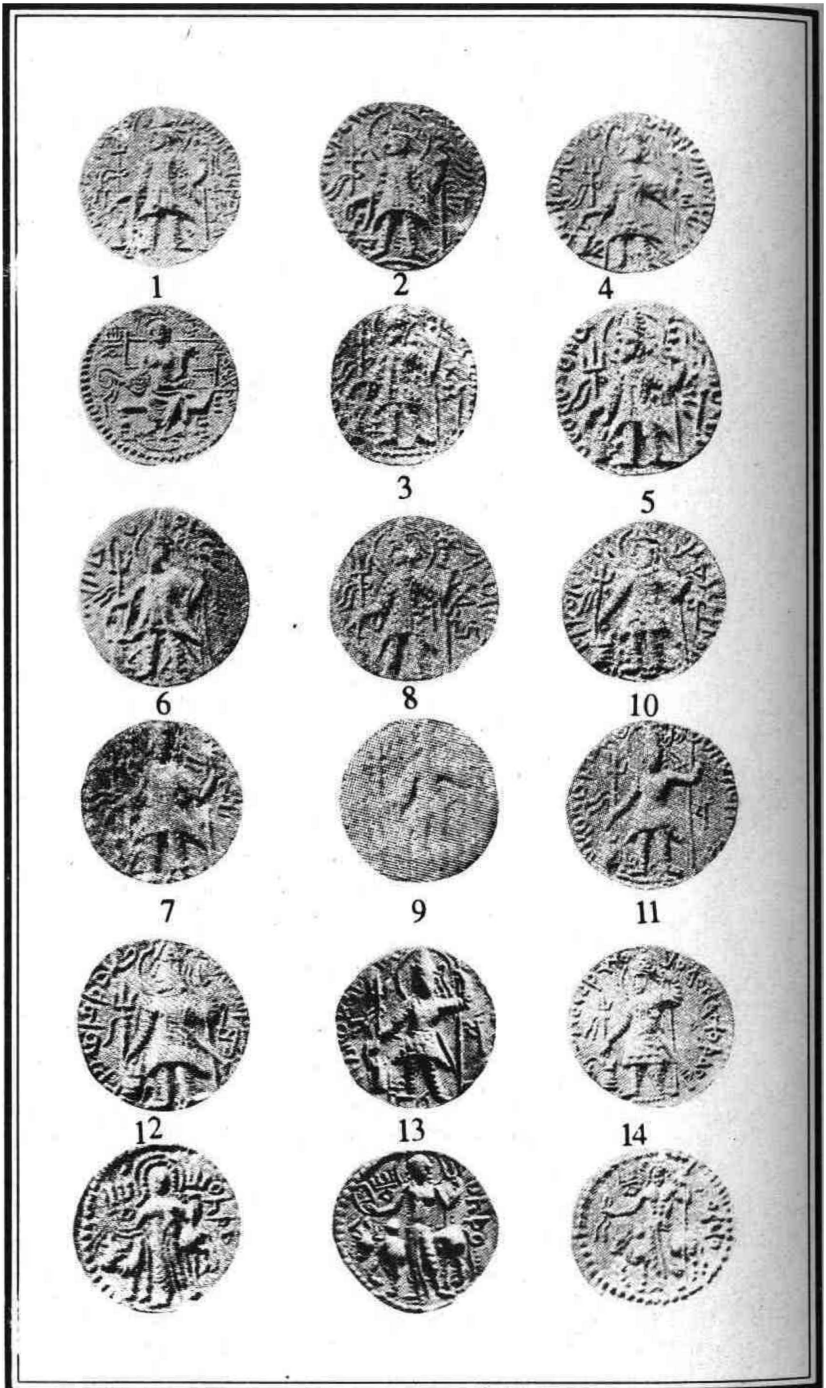


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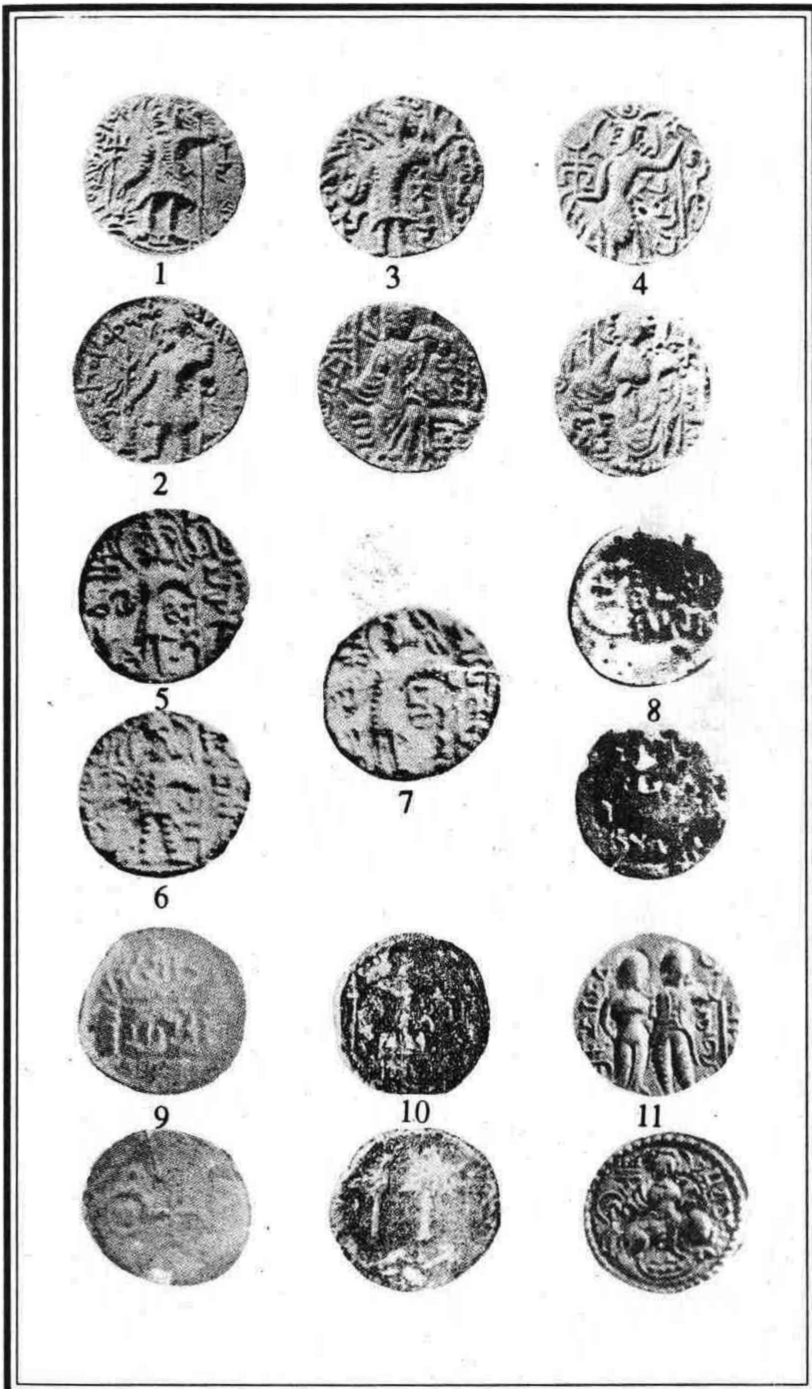


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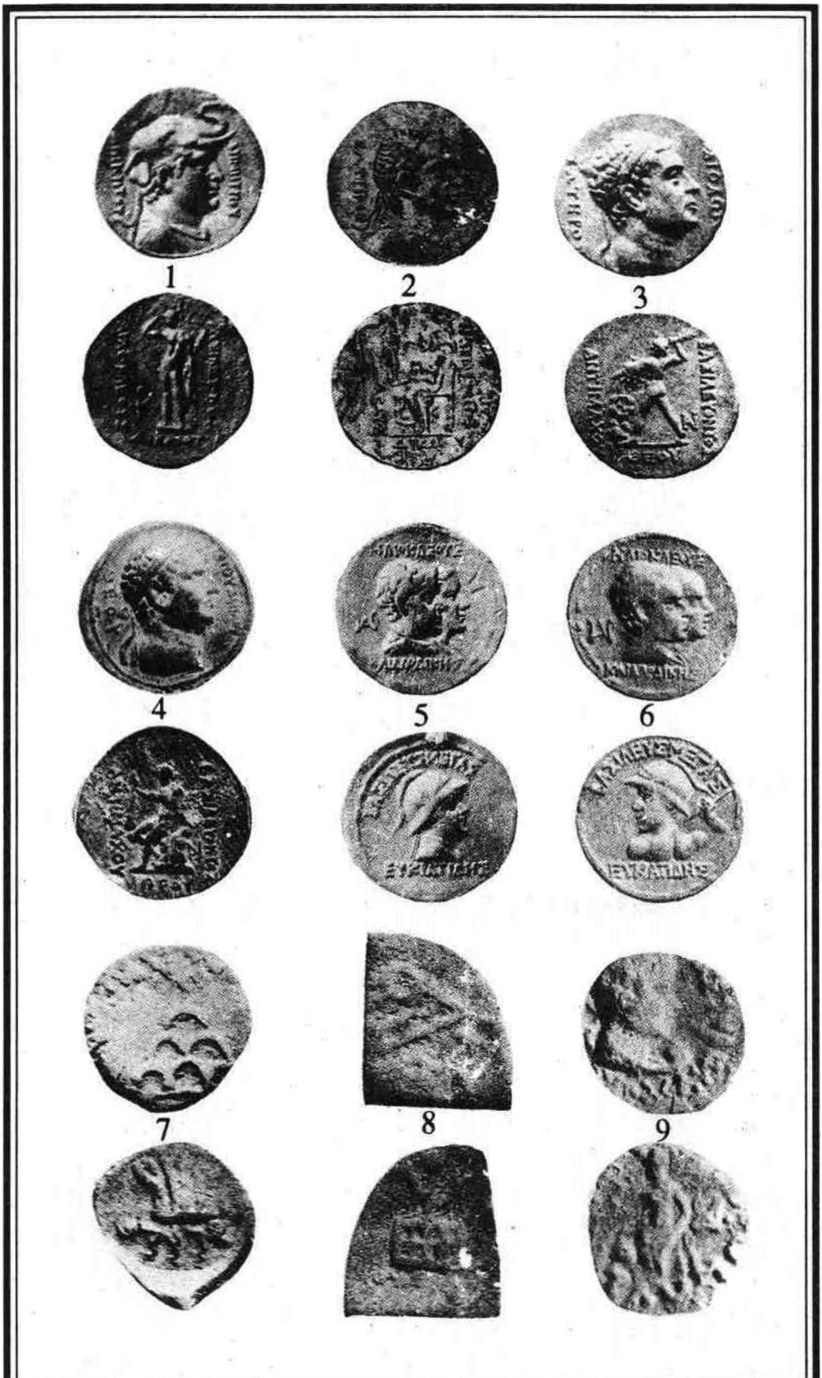


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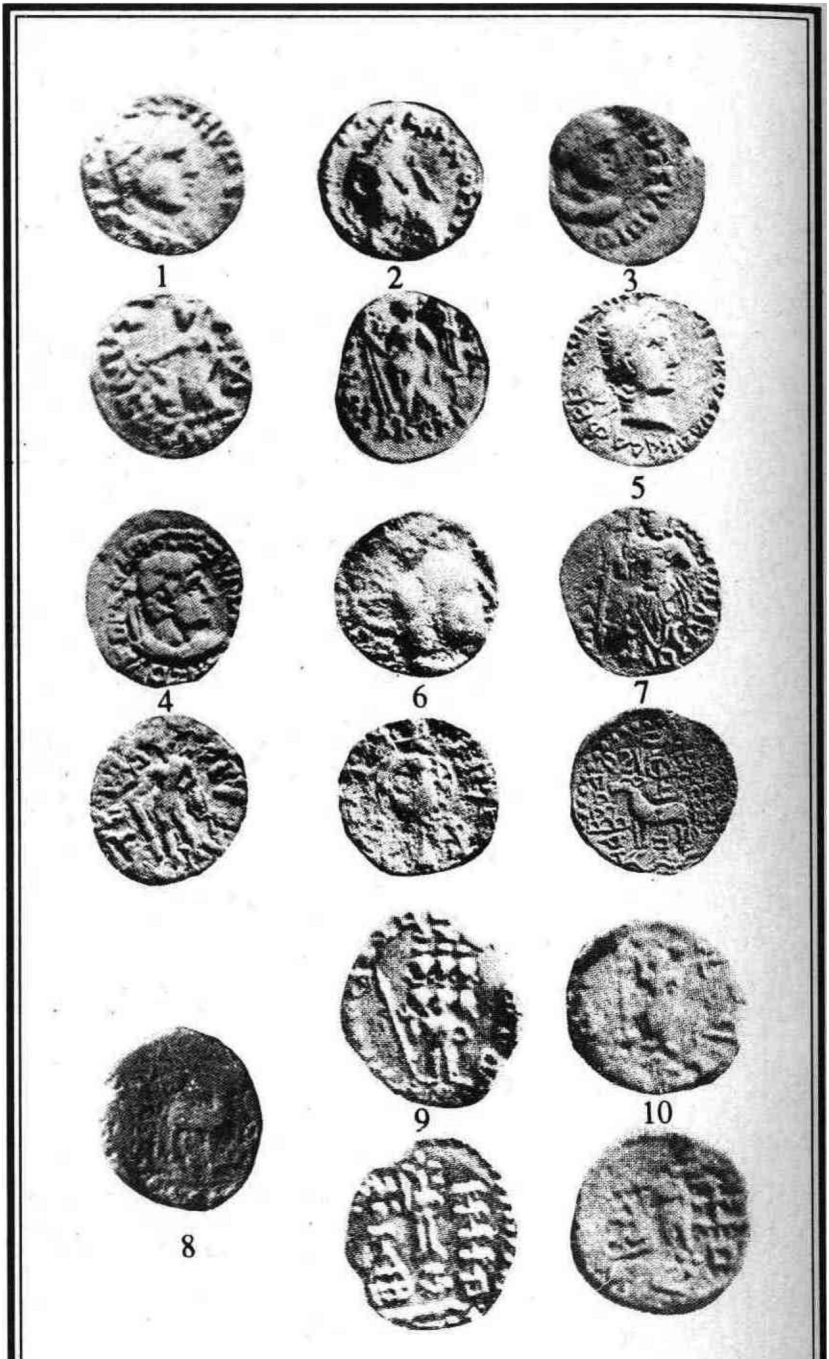


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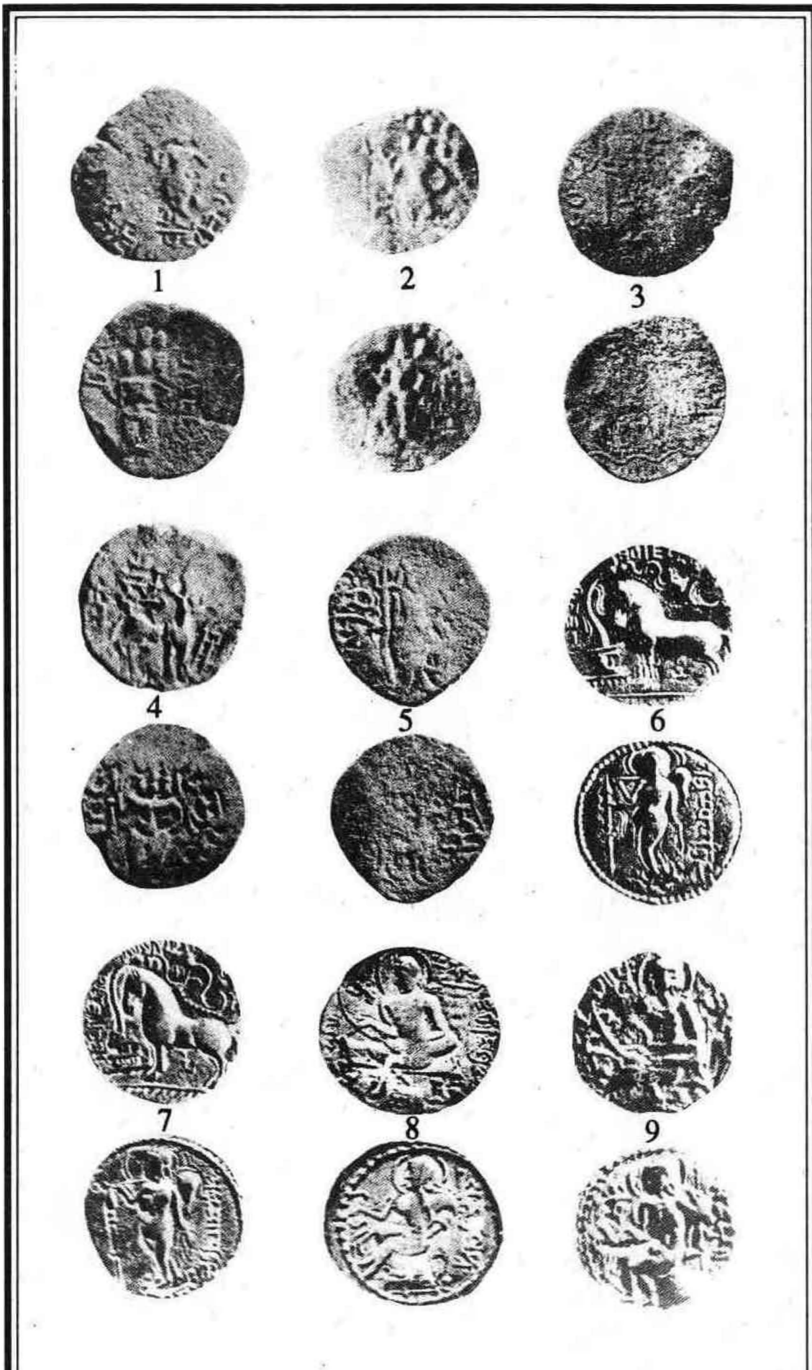


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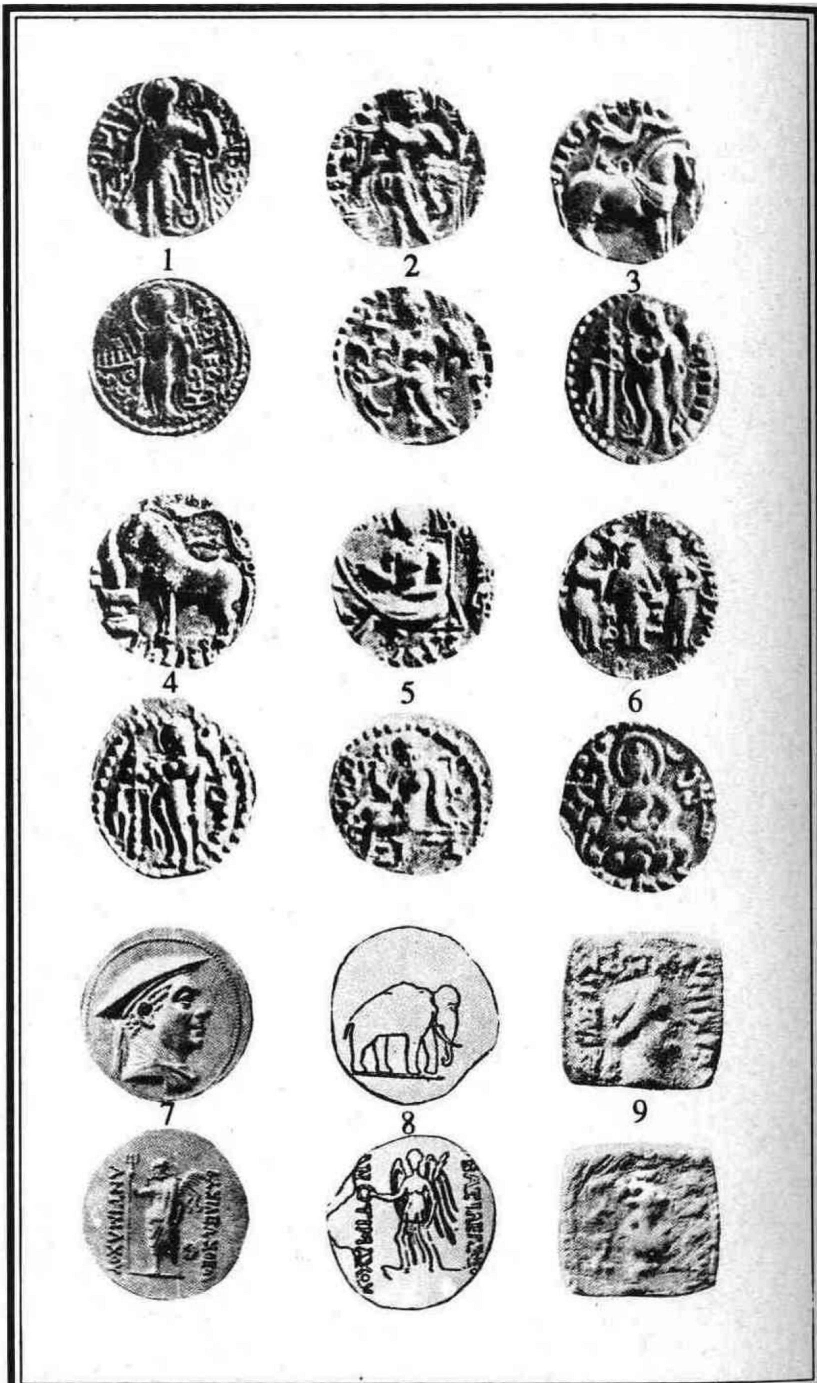


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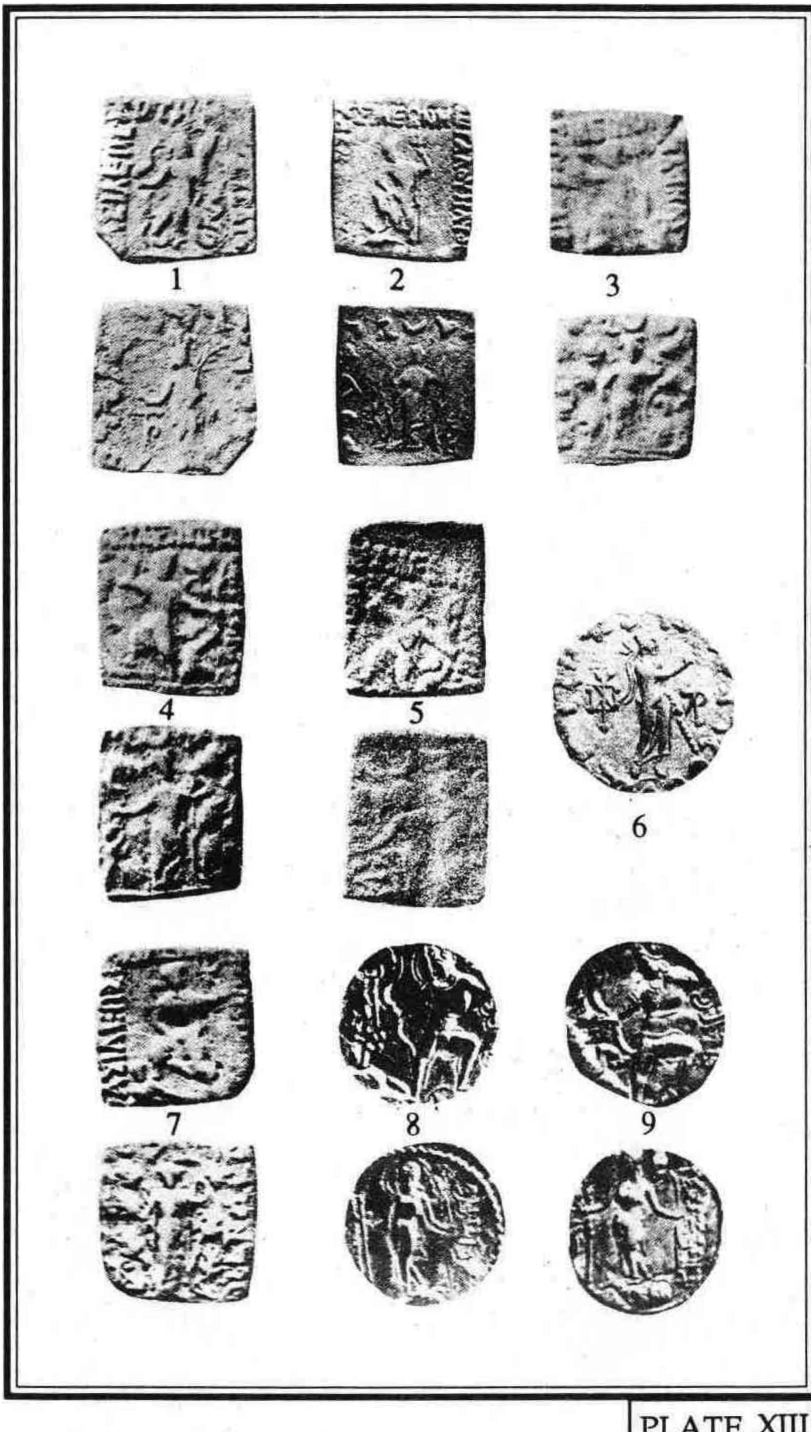


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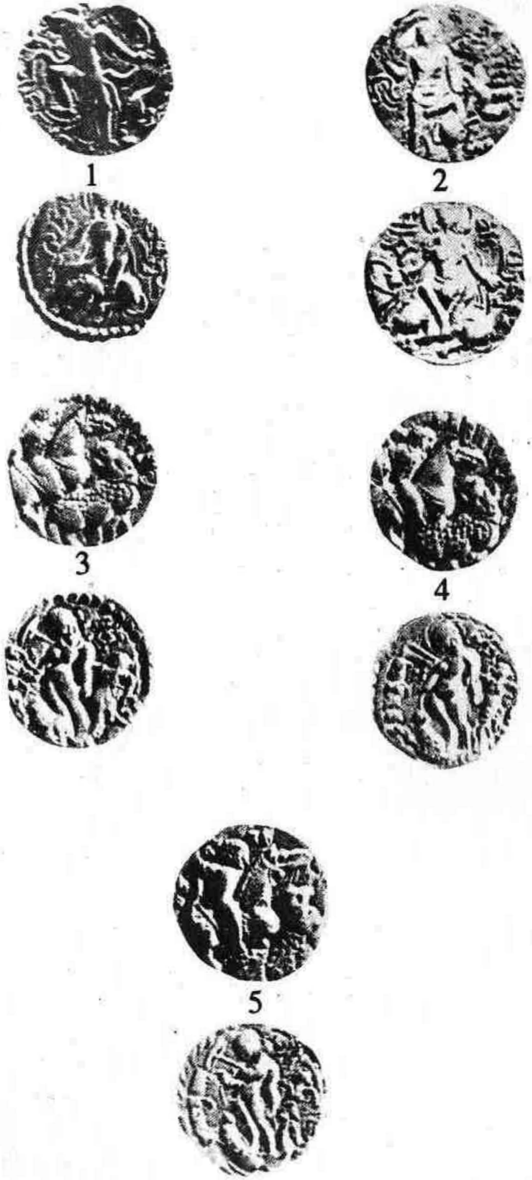


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